Woman's Journal
And Suffrage News

VOL. 47. NO. 1. SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1916 NEW ENGLAND EDITION

DR. DAVIS RESIGNS FOR NEW POSITION

Commissioner of Corrections Heads New Parole Board with Salary of $7,500

Dr. Katharine B. Davis has resigned as Commissioner of Corrections of New York City to accept the chairmanship of the new Parole Board. The appointment takes effect Jan. 1.

The other two commissioners of the new Parole Board will be men whose salary will be $5,500. One member of the new Parole Board is appointed for six years, the other for four years, while Dr. Davis' appointment is for two years. Dr. Davis' salary will be the same as it is now as Commissioner of Correction, $7,500.

Referring to his appointments, Mayor Mitchel said:

"I have selected Dr. Davis for appointment to membership on the new Parole Board. She will occupy the principal position. Dr. Davis, by temperament, by training and by experience, is the best fitted person I can find for the position.

"The signal success of her work as Commissioner of Corrections is well known to all. Because of that work and because I want the vast powers of the Parole Commission placed in safe and sane hands,

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WOMAN SCULPTOR WINS U. S. AWARD

Miss Scudder, a Suffragist, Will Design Gold Medals for A. B. C. Mediators

Designing of the three gold medals to be presented by the United States to Ambassadors Naon of Argentina; Da Gama of Brazil, and Suarez of Chili, popularly known as the A. B. C. mediators, was awarded at Washington by Secretary Lansing last week to Miss Jeannette Scudder of New York. Miss Scudder is an active suffragist, as well as an able sculptor.

BIG CONFERENCE COMES IN MAY

Mississippi Valley Suffrage Meeting to Be Held May 7-10 in Minneapolis

The Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference for 1916 has been announced by the chairman, Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson of Chicago. The conference will be held at Minneapolis, May 7-10. The question of vital importance to be discussed is the assisting of the campaign States of the year—Iowa, West Virginia and South Dakota.

MARYLAND BABIES DIE AT "FARMS"

One Plot of Ground, Fifty-five Feet Square, Holds 5,000 Deserted Illegitimates

Maryland's State-wide vice-commission, appointed by Gov. Goldsborough in 1913, has just made public the result of its inquiry. The most startling feature dealt with is the alleged traffic in babies.

It is asserted that investigators found there are institutions in Baltimore to which the mother of an illegitimate child may consign her offspring, upon the payment of a certain sum, and forever rid herself of legal responsibility for it.

Of the hundreds of children taken by the institutions, the commission states that from 80 to 90 per cent. die and are buried in heaps in small plots of ground, one such plot, approximately fifty-five feet square, having been the tomb of 5,000 babies since 1886.

Much attention is given in the report to social conditions in factories, stores and office buildings, and many instances are given of immorality forced upon girls by the employers or their superiors at their places of employment, the penalty of refusal being the loss of position.

SUFFRAGE WON MORE VOTES THAN TAFT OR ROOSEVELT

Also Received Bigger Percentage of Votes Cast in Four States than President Wilson Did in 1912 according to Official Returns

The announcement for the first time of official returns on the suffrage amendment in New York State last week makes it clear that in the four States where the question went to the voters in 1915 it received a total of 1,225,621 votes, or a greater number than either Taft or Roosevelt polled in the same States at the last presidential election. President Wilson himself received 1,402,791 votes in these States, or only 177,170 more than the suffrage amendment, and suffrage polled a greater favorable per cent. of the votes cast on the question than did Mr. Wilson of the votes cast at the presidential election of 1912.

The vote in New York State on equal suffrage stood: For, 544,457; against, 732,770; majority against, 188,313. The totals do not include Oneida County, where the vote of Utica has been held up by a court order.

The unofficial majority in Oneida County is placed at 6,154 against, which means a probable vote of about 8,000 for and 14,000 against. More than 550,000 votes were cast for suffrage in the State of New York. More votes were cast for and against it in New York than on any of the five other questions submitted, except the revised constitution, on which about 5,000 more men voted; but, whereas suffrage failed to carry by a majority of 188,313, the new constitution was beaten by a majority of 504,669. In like manner, the majority against altering the rate of interest on State bonds was 291,450; the majority against the proposal to change apportionment in New York City was 513,420, and the majority against the taxation referendum was 568,476. The only proposition to carry was the referendum on a bond issue for the Barge Canal. In a year when the electorate was generally voting "no," suffrage received a much greater favorable vote than any other question except one.

The official vote in the four States which voted on equal suf-

(Continued on page 2.)

Alice Stone Blackwell · 109767

SHOULD VIRGINIA MEN LOSE VOTE?

Manhood Suffrage Failed to Prevent Recent Labor Riots and Mobs as in Colorado

"Rioting grew so fierce as to be altogether out of hand." "Citizen guards were powerless to maintain order." "Appeals were made to the Governor to send the militia." "Everywhere lawyers, doctors, business men and laborers were sitting on the goods they had managed to save with rifles across their knees and revolvers in their belts."

These sentences are not descriptive of a scene in the equal suffrage States where the governments are said to be powerless because women vote; they are taken from the New York Times's account of what happened in the Du Pont city of Hopewell, Virginia, the day after the fire. They are not telling about an industrial disturbance, but about homeless people at the mercy of a lawless mob.

Manhood suffrage did not save Virginia from disturbance, and it has not saved Pennsylvania. Yet it seems that the Wilkes-Barre rioting is not related to the suffrage at all. Manhood suffrage, when brought face to face with riot and bloodshed, "has nothing to do with the case." It's only where women vote, as in Colorado, that "civic unrest" relates itself to the ballot box. Nevertheless, it was one of life's little ironies that just when the antis thought they had proved woman suffrage dangerous to law and order, Pennsylvania, whose men had just concluded to save the State from the votes of its womanhood, should have kicked over their sophistries with a riot.

NORWEGIAN MEN WAIVE ARGUMENT

State Suffrage Right in Norway Passed Discussion Stage, Is Now a Matter of Course

At the centenary of the Norwegian constitution, celebrated in Christiania in the summer of 1914, public men were appealed to by suffrage workers for an expression of opinion on the consequences of giving the vote to women, for it was thought such testimony might have an effect on the numerous American voters of Norwegian extraction who were soon to pronounce on the issue in several of our States. The answer was, writes Hanna Astrup Larsen in the January Yale Review, that the question had long since passed beyond the pale of discussion, and a Norwegian statesman arguing on the right of women to vote would feel as foolish as an American if he were to discourse on their right to learn to read or to go about in public unveiled. Less than a quarter of a century had elapsed between the first demand by a few pioneers and the granting of political rights to women; half a decade had sufficed to make the new order accepted as a matter of course.

FORM OF BEQUEST

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SALOON'S HAND SEEN BEHIND CHICAGO ELECTION ESTIMATE

Commission Proposes Increased Cost of Women's Vote That Would Be Larger in Itself Than Previous Costs for Men

The statement was put forth by the election commissioners of Chicago last week that in 1916 the total election expense in Chicago would amount to the huge sum of $2,439,655, and that $791,929, or 32 per cent. of the total, was estimated as the expense due to the women's vote.

There is evidently good reason why such an "estimate" is issued at this time. One of the principal arguments used by the opposition to equal suffrage in the campaigns last fall was that of increased election expense, for many voters are most easily swayed by an appeal that touches their pocket-books. The liquor interests are still attacking the woman suffrage law in the Illinois courts, and are anxious to discredit it in every possible way. Just how this attitude connects with the Chicago election commission was shown at once by Oscar E. Hewitt, one of the foremost newspaper writers of the country, in a signed article in the Chicago Herald of Dec. 26.

"Perhaps there is no significance in the board's estimate," says Mr. Hewitt. "But the liquor interests are not usually credited with being enthusiastic over woman voters. Two of the election commissioners, August Lueders and Frank X. Rydzewski, recently were given considerable publicity by the Senator in the Herald because of their vocations as beer agents."

The commission went too far in proving its case, however; for Mr. Hewitt points out that only three times before in the last thirty years have Chicago elections cost as much as it is proposed to spend on the women alone next year.

In 1911 only men were permitted to vote. In the spring 425,924 were registered and 370,352 voted. In the fall of that year only 176,000 men went to the polls. The total election expense of that year was $696,725. There are at present on the registry books 284,533 names of qualified women voters.

"Naturally the question arises as to why it costs more now to permit fewer women to vote," says Mr. Hewitt.

In their estimate the election commission divides the women's vote, on the basis of 300 to a precinct, into 948 precincts. It also divides the registered male vote of 491,246 into 1,637 precincts. This would make a total of 2,585 precincts, but the board says charitably that "by careful calculation" it "feels certain it will be able to reduce this number to approximately 2,330." This would mean "about 830 precincts on account of the woman vote and 1,500 on account of the male vote."

One would almost be led to conclude that in only 118 precincts women would register and vote at the same polling places as men. Such is not the case, for it is safe to say that in most cases the women will vote in the same polling places as men, and that the election machinery which Chicago used for men alone will not have to be altered to so great an extent as the commission has "estimated." Unfortunately, women cannot vote for election commissioners in Chicago.

DR. DAVIS RESIGNS FOR NEW POSITION

(Continued from page 415)

it is gratifying to me to be able to announce Dr. Davis' appointment to that commission.

"Her acceptance of this appointment will free her from responsibility for the details of administration of the fundamental policies which I asked her, as Commissioner of Correction, to work out two years ago.

Dr. Davis, in accepting the new position, said:

"One of the most important functions of the new Parole Commission will be to make the rules and regulations under which prisoners earn their parole. These rules and regulations will materially affect the conduct within the institutions. After serious consideration it has therefore seemed wise that I should myself undertake this work. In doing this I shall be quite as closely connected with the department, although in a different way, as if I remained Commissioner of Correction."

The fund being raised by the Congressional Union to help secure the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment has passed the $100,000 mark, according to the Union's announcement.

WON MORE VOTES THAN ROOSEVELT

(Continued from page 415)

frage in October and November was as follows:

	For.	Against.	Majority.	Per cent. favorable.
New York (one county missing)	544,457	732,770	188,313	42.63
Pennsy. ..	385,348	441,03¼	55,68	46.63
Mass.	162,615	295,702	133,087	35.48
N. Jersey.	133,201	184,474	51,273	41.93
Totals..	1,225,621	1,653,980	428,361	42.56

The vote for suffrage in these States, compared with the vote for Taft in 1912, is as follows:

	For Suffrage.....	For Taft.....	Per cent for Suffrage.	Per cent. for Taft...
New York....	544,457 (One county (missing.)	455,428	42.63	28.68
Pennsylvania	385,348	273,305	46.63	22.30
Massachusetts	162,615	155,948	35.48	31.95
New Jersey..	133,201	88,835	41.93	20.54
Totals	1,225,621	973,516	42.56	26.10

The vote for equal suffrage, compared with the vote for Roosevelt in 1912, is as follows:

	For Suffrage.....	For Roosevelt.....	Per cent. for Suffrage.	Per cent. for Roosevelt.
New York ..	544,457 (One county missing.)	390,021	42.63	21.57
Pennsylvania	385,348	447,426	46.63	36.67
Massachusetts	162,615	142,228	35.48	29.14
New Jersey ..	133,201	145,410	41.93	33.62
Totals	1,225,621	1,125,085	42.56	30.17

Compared with the vote for Wilson in 1912, the vote for suffrage is as follows:

	For Suffrage.....	For Wilson.....	Per cent. for Suffrage	Per cent. for Wilson.
New York ..	544,457 (One county missing.)	635,475	42.63	41.28
Pennsylvania.	385,348	395,619	46.63	32.42
Massachusetts	162,615	173,408	35.48	35.53
New Jersey..	133,201	178,280	41.93	41.22
Totals	1,225,621	1,402,791	42.56	37.02

NEW SLOGAN FOR SUFFRAGE WOMEN

Term Suffrage-Americans Accepted by Workers as Compliment Rather than Invective

The antis have just coined a new phrase to hurl at the suffragists. "They are suffrage-Americans," said Mrs. A. J. George in her anti-suffrage speech before the Federal Judiciary Committee.

"It is more than likely that suffragists will pick up this phrase and make a new slogan for their banners out of it," says the bulletin of the Empire State Campaign Committee. "Surely they are suffrage-Americans! What sort of manliness would any male citizen of today show if he were to consider his right to vote a 'secondary question,' as Mrs. George says it is? The more "parlous" the times, the more a great-hearted citizen wants to exercise his suffrage, that symbol of full citizenship signifying his readiness to bear his share of duties and dangers for his country's sake. If the ballot means anything at all, it means to all right-thinking members of a democracy that sober act of moral judgment by which a man records his choice for the welfare of his nation.

"To be among those privileged to decide the country's destinies is the solemn trust of every voter, bestowed upon him as his heritage from freedom-loving ancestors. It is at the same time his voluntary submission to the highest patriotism. To be a suffrage-American means to be a willing servitor of the ideals of complete human freedom. It means to put one's hand on the altar and to swear anew that 'government of the people, for the people, by the people shall not perish from the earth.'

"By all means, suffrage-Americans."

WOMAN MINISTER BERLIN PASTOR

Miss Petzold Said to Be First Woman to Hold Position in Germany

Miss Gertrude von Petzold has been appointed assistant pastor of the American Church in Berlin. She is the first woman in Germany to hold such a position. Miss von Petzold was at one time pastor of the Unitarian Church in Des Moines, Iowa. She has also had charge of two Unitarian congregations in England, at Leicester and Birmingham. She has a degree from Edinburgh University and is described as a beautiful and charming woman.

She is the daughter of a German naval officer, but had lived for eighteen years in England, and said that she regarded herself as English. When the war broke out, her Birmingham congregation sought to have her formally naturalized, but the British Home Office sent her back to Germany, refusing (the English papers say) her request to be allowed to go to the United States instead. Her English congregation on her departure gave her a gold watch and a year's leave of absence.

Miss Von Petzold is said to have been the first woman minister in England, as well as in Germany. Of course, women had been preaching for many years among the Quakers, in the Salvation Army and elsewhere, but they had not had charge of regular churches.

OHIO PROTECTS CORRUPT VOTERS

Two Thousand Men Who Sold Votes Automatically Enfranchised After Five Years

Through lapse of five years, the term for which they were disfranchised, the right of suffrage was automatically restored during December to about 2,000 male residents of Adams County, Ohio, according to calculations by State officials. The development that elections in Adams County for years had been corrupt came in 1910, when wholesale convictions were obtained.

These men who sold their votes now have them again and are no longer in a class with women.

CONVENTION GAVE SPIRIT OF UNION

Appreciative Survey Made of National Convention's Place in Woman's Progress

What the 47th annual convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association stood for was shown with sympathy and insight by Miss Louise Townsend Nicholl, in the New York Evening Post. Her summarization showed the most outstanding single impression of all to be that of a group of peoble people passing on a common cause made sacred by the toil and the shared experiences of several generations.

"The union of generations," wrote Miss Nicholl, "is shown by two, three, sometimes four generations of women seeing each other with new sight and new friendship because they are all working together for what they believe to be good and beautiful and greatly to be desired. Woman suffrage is essentially the movement which brings together instead of splitting apart, which builds up and does not tear down.

"They are all here—the older women who have been friends and comrades and fellow workers for years and years, who have white hair and beautiful faces and a look which sees very far; the young women who are just beginning to learn what real living, real usefulness, real friendship, means; the very young girls who go around with yellow 'Page' ribbons on, carrying messages and wondering if they will ever come to this stolid business of sitting in a certain seat because you live in a certain State, and rising up with dignity to make a motion. There are Western women who breeze in, just the way a Western woman should; there are sweet Southern women who look up demurely from under the traditional poke bonnet; there are very plain women and very dressy women, women who have always worked for a living, and women who have never washed that much talked-of handkerchief. And the best of it is that they see themselves quite frankly, too, and laugh when they are funny. 'It is only gray-haired women like me who can really see what this convention means,' said one woman. 'It means to me just one thing—how women have grown.' She did not elaborate, but she surely meant the way they take and give, the way they appreciate each other, the way they laugh and work, the way they hold out handfuls of experience and good-will to each other, and all go on together towards what is ahead?"

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SEVEN TIMES AS EASY WITH HELP

Cambridge Elects Good Government School Board by 2,000 and Mayor by 299

The Cambridge election of last week resulted in an overwhelming majority for all of the Good Government candidates, as opposed to the Democratic machine. The Independent Citizens' candidate for Mayor, Wendell P. Rockwood, was elected by a majority of 299. The entire ticket of the Public School Association for school committee, with women voting, defeated the Democratic slate by more than 2,000 votes. The six members of the Public School Association who were elected to the school board are F. J. McCue, Harry N. Stearns, John F. Gadsby, Miss Mary H. Winslow, Mrs. Florence Lee Whitman and Prof. Jeremiah M. D. Ford.

This result in the school election represents the end of a campaign which has been waged against the Democratic members who controlled the board this year. Some weeks ago Mrs. Florence Lee Whitman, then the only woman on the Cambridge school board, made a striking exposure of the recklessness with which her fellow members spent the public school funds, and she also charged them with political favoritism and with holding secret caucuses for premature transaction of business.

BOSTON SCHOOL VOTE JUMPS UP

Returns from the school elections held in Boston Dec. 14 show that 6,433 women registered their opinions at the polls, representing the largest number of women's votes in any year since 1909. An increase of 2,484 votes was made over last year. Of the 11,043 women registered this year, 58 per cent cast their vote on the school question. The number of men who voted in the entire city election, which included not only the issues of school election, but also the important questions of license, cutting strips from the Common for street widening, and choosing City Council members, represented only 69 per cent. of the number of men registered.

In Idaho the woman vote has compelled not only State Conventions, but more particularly county conventions of both parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office.—Ex-Governor Hunt of Idaho.

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CONGRESS TAKES TIME FOR PORK

Not Too Busy to Consider Spending Revenue on "Rivers and Harbors"

Despite prospects of a fight in Congress over revenue legislation and the pleas of party leaders for economies, Chairman Sparkman, of the House Rivers and Harbors Committee, is planning to report a general waterways bill, and there was talk last week of the intention of the House Public Buildings Committee, headed by Representative Clark of Florida, to report an omnibus buildings bill. It developed last week when the Rivers and Harbors Committee meets after the holidays to determine its course, there will be up for consideration favorable reports on new projects aggregating $120,000,000. In such a manner has the "pork barrel" already entered the new Congress.

An article by John Callan Laughlin in the Chicago Herald of Dec. 15 throws light on what this expenditure has meant in the past:

"Of $800,000,000 spent by the Federal Government on river and harbor improvements, the greater part has been wasted.

"The above statement is the deliberate judgment of men who have made a careful study of the results of this tremendous expenditure. Looking back over the history of the reckless theft of public moneys that has occurred, one is amazed at the cynical effrontery displayed in the robbery of the people.

"Members of the Senate and House have voted for steals involving millions of dollars in order that they may receive in return the votes of their colleagues for a project in which they are interested.

"Back of the action of these men was the lack of interest shown by the people in the use made of the money they had paid into the national treasury and the demand of local communities for participation in the division of the spoils."

Meanwhile a great many Congressmen are preparing to spend women's taxes wastefully again and at the same time to hide behind the plea that there are too many pressing matters for them to consider the resolution giving women a vote.

EASY DIVORCE IN THE WRONG STATE

The Philadelphia Press has just called attention to its "easy divorce law" passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1913 as one that "would attract people seeking divorce to Pennsylvania rather than to Nevada if its peculiar merits were generally known." The validity of the law is now being contested in the courts. But it does not alter the fact that the law was passed. If this had happened in a suffrage State, it would have been laid up to the votes of women, even if the women had not voted for members of the Legislature.

We used to ask for suffrage because women needed it as a means to larger opportunities. But the aspect of the woman question has changed. Women are now saying, as in the days of the war, "The country needs us."—Mary A. Livermore.

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BEST IN WOMAN'S PAY NOT GOOD

Even Shoe Factories Give 50 Per Cent. of Women Less Than $450 a Year

The Department of Labor of Massachusetts has been making a survey of work and wages in boot and shoe making.

According to recent statistics, the shoe factories in the commonwealth employ an average number of 80,000 workers, or nearly half the shoe workers in the United States; and 35 per cent., or almost 28,000, are women and girls.

Says the Boston Herald editorially:

"Women's earnings in the Massachusetts boot and shoe industry are higher than in any other industry in the State, though certainly none too high. It appears that in a week of maximum employment more than 40 per cent. of the women earn $10 and over, whereas in no other industry does the proportion earning as much exceed about 20 per cent. But there are slack seasons, and these periods of partial unemployment keep down the annual wage, so that 60 per cent. of the steady and experienced workers earn less than $500 a year, while nearly 50 per cent. do not earn more than $450. Still the shoe factories pay nearly the highest yearly wage, as well as the highest weekly wage."

Representative Robert B. Martin of Boston has filed with the Clerk of the House a bill authorizing women to vote on license in Massachusetts.

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1916

A HAPPY NEW YEAR.

A Happy New Year to all the friends of equal rights!

In view of the terrible conditions that prevail throughout a large part of the world today, the wish may seem like a mockery. Some of us have had running through our minds during this holiday season the opening lines of Emily Pfeiffer's "Hymn to the Dark Christmas of 1874," written by a poet long since dead, the English wife of a German husband:

Lift up the hymn once more in this sad Yule-tide,
Lift up the hymn!
The day is darker than any since Jesus died,
And as cold as dim.

But those who are working to make the world better have a right to wish each other a Happy New Year, and to join in the closing verses of that great poem:

Lift up the hymn once more in this sad Yule-tide,
Lift up the hymn!
The night may be darker than any since Jesus died,
And as cold as dim;
But the dawn is breaking, and after the dawn the day,
And they one and both
Are made to our need—the day for our work and our play,
The night for our growth.
Lift we the carol on high as with new-blown breath
From the glimmering earth,
That all who were wailing of sorrow, of sin and of death,
May sing with us of birth!

To us who believe that the world would have been spared the horrors now devastating it, if women had had their rightful share in government, there is reason to rejoice that we have put in our time and strength for something so thoroughly well worth while as the equal suffrage cause. Let us make a New Year resolution to work harder for it than ever during the coming year! A. S. B.

THE YEAR'S GAINS

The year 1915 has seen full suffrage granted to women in Denmark and Iceland, municipal suffrage in South Africa, and an extension of local suffrage in a number of cities, ranging from St. John, N. B., to Fellsmere, Fla. It has seen majority votes for constitutional amendments extending full suffrage to women given by both Houses of the Legislature in nine States. It has seen the first great breach made in the opposition in the East by the huge minority votes cast for equal suffrage in the four campaign States of this year—544,457 in New York (with Oneida County still to hear from), 385,348 in Pennsylvania, 133,282 in New Jersey, 162,615 in Massachusetts.

It has seen 250,000 women cast their ballots in Chicago, proving that women can vote in great numbers without the least harm to their homes, and proving also that the net result is good in a big and cosmopolitan city, as well as in "sparsely-settled Western States." More converts to suffrage have unquestionably been made in 1915 than in any previous year. Last, but not least, the National Suffrage Association has acquired as its president the one woman whom its members would have chosen if they could have had their pick out of the whole world, as the general best qualified to lead them to victory. Now it is our business to stand solidly behind her during the coming year, and to strengthen her hands in every possible way.

A. S. B.

MRS. CATT'S COUNSEL

The New Year is the time for good resolutions. Mrs. Catt gave the suffragists several pieces of good advice during the National Convention, and all should take these to heart and follow them. She urged the women to sink all small differences, and get toegether.

"If we are Christians, let us call upon our Christianity," she said. "If we are Jews, let us likewise go to our religion. Some of the best Christians I have ever known were Jews. Whatever our creed, let us call upon those psychological sources of strength upon which we can draw, in order to enable us to get together. Let us try to be impersonal. I think that by nature I am rather an impersonal person; I never hate anybody at first sight; and I will do my best to cultivate that spirit in the work. Let us try to regard ourselves as if we were all of us little tin soldiers before our great cause."

Mrs. Catt said that the watchword of the year ought to be organization. "Organization has been my hobby for the last hundred years," she added. Whether for Congressional or State work, the only solid foundation is organization; and if you have in your State a thorough and far-reaching organization, you can switch it at short notice to any piece of work, State or Federal, that needs to be done.

Mrs. Catt also advised us to look for women who have political talent. "We who have come down from the last generation are reformers. That is why we are suffragists," she said. "But reformers are usually very poor politicians. We need today the political mind, the gift for organizing in detail. We need the organized, disciplined, pigeon-hole mind.

"Our greatest lack has been the lack of leadership. Perhaps it is true, as Havelock Ellis says, that women are more on a smooth and level average than men. We have not many of what the Chinese call 'the Man Mountain.' Then let us strengthen our weakness by careful specialization. Find out what you can do best, and improve your gift to the top notch. Let us put out of our lives all the non-essentials, all the trivialities, and devote ourselves first and foremost to this great cause."

Mrs. Catt also advised the women to keep their plans to themselves, and not let them come to the knowledge of the enemy. "Suffragists are often very leaky," she said. "They will actually talk as they go down in the elevator about the plan of campaign that has been adopted at their meeting!"

The editor of The Journal would remind the suffragists of all the States that the opponents of suffrage read this paper with a lynx eye, in order to find out what is going on in the way of suffrage work, and to counteract it, if possible. Do not send us for publication any news that you are not perfectly willing to have the enemy know.

After her election to the presidency Mrs. Catt was called upon for a speech. She quoted someone who had said, in accepting an office: "I am healthy, I am energetic, and I will do my best." Mrs. Catt said: "I am not healthy, and I am tired from two years' hard work in the New York campaign, but I will do my best. When I came here I had no more idea of taking the national presidency than I had of going to Kamchatka. I am an unwilling victim, and you all know it. I have a right to ask that if you are dissatisfied with anything about my administration, you will bring it to me instead of passing it along in conversation to others. I come to my task in an appalling state of unpreparedness, and you must all give me your help.

"Let us make our slogan for the coming year, 'Get Together.' Let us work harder this year than ever before. Let each one find a hundred women who have never worked before, and get them to work with all their might.

"I could not be otherwise than deeply touched by the confidence that you have placed in me. I will do my best not to disappoint you."

Let us all do our best not to disappoint Mrs. Catt!

A. S. B.

WHERE REFORM BEGINS

We resume our review of "The Case Against Woman Suffrage," by George R. Conroy:

Mr. Conroy says: "True reform begins in the cradle, the nursery, the school, the church, around the family fireside." Doubtless; but a man does not, because he has a vote, lose his influence with his pupils if he is principal of a school, or with his parishioners or fellow members if he is a pastor or a church member, or with his children around the family hearth. They all respect him more and not less, because he is recognized as worthy of having his opinion counted on election day. Where women have the ballot, it brings them increased respect and influence in the family circle, as well as outside it.

Mr. Conroy says: "The ballot is not a panacea." Arnica is not a panacea; but that is no reason why women should not be allowed to use it for a bruise.

Mr. Conroy says: "It (the ballot) is merely an instrument of convenience." A fork is merely an instrument of convenience. Does it follow that men may eat with forks but women must eat with their fingers, because men and women "are essentially different and cannot be compared"?

A. S. B.

MOULDING PUBLIC OPINION

Mr. Conroy says: "Women react upon government just in proportion as they are alert, intelligent, well informed and public-spirited, through the creation of an intelligent public opinion." A woman who is neither well informed nor public-spirited may "react upon government" more powerfully than a thousand women who are both well informed and public-spirited, if she happens to be the wife, daughter or mistress of an influential public man. History is full of such instances.

Mr. Conroy says: "Legislation is merely crystallized public opinion. And in the creation of such public opinion women now have tremendous influence." He claims that they would have less if they voted. On the contrary, women so long as they have no votes are at a disadvantage in the matter of influencing public opinion, in two ways.

In the first place, they are less likely to inform themselves upon public questions, and so to form an opinion and be prepared to influence the opinion of others. Those 516 ministers and editors in the suffrage States who replied favorably to Julia Ward Howe's questionnaire were practically unanimous in saying that the ballot had led women to take a more intelligent interest in public affairs. A leading Denver bookseller says that he sold more books on political economy during the first eight months after women got the suffrage than he had sold in fifteen years before. The papers report that the Chicago public library has had to set apart a special reading room for works bearing on good government, because so many women come to read up on such subjects since they got the municipal vote.

Professor Harry E. Kelley, formerly of the Iowa State University, went to Denver to practice law. He was opposed to suffrage. After some years he wrote to State Senator A. H. Gale of Iowa that his observations had made him a convert. He said: "The great value in woman suffrage consists in this, that it gives dynamic force to a fresh and vital interest in the State. It gives us an increased breadth of public interest in social welfare. Neither has woman suffrage rendered politics attractive to women as a vocation, nor has it had any other effect on their character than to widen their intellectual horizon." (More Testimony from Colorado, pages 1 and 2).

The Hon. W. E. Mullen, attorney general of Wyoming, writes in a letter to A. C. Thomas of Jefferson, Oregon, that he was opposed to equal suffrage when he went to Wyoming, but has been converted. He adds: "It stimulates interest and study on the part of women in public affairs. Questions of public interest are discussed in the home; more papers and magazines are read, and the interests of the State and the home are promoted. As the mother, sister or teacher of young boys, the influence of woman in the creation of wholesome ideals of citizenship is very great. The more she knows about the obligations of citizenship, the more she is able to teach the boys." (Testimony from Wyoming, pages 1 and 2.)

"Since women became voters, interest in all public questions has increased almost beyond belief," writes V. C. Hicks, clinical psychologist of the Oakland (Cal.) public schools, in the New York Survey of October 23, 1915.

"Women are more interested in public affairs than they used to be, and politicians deal more earnestly with home and social questions," says Lady Holder, wife of Sir Frederick Holder, K. C. M. G., Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia (New York Independent, June 9, 1904).

Testimony along this line might be multiplied indefinitely, but it is hardly necessary. Women opposed to suffrage often say frankly that one of their reasons for objecting is that if they had the ballot they should feel it their duty to inform themselves, and they do not want to take the trouble. Such a woman would make a valuable voter.

A. S. B.

A SECOND DISADVANTAGE

In the second place, when women have an opinion, their opinion is less respected because they have no vote. Raymond Robins of Chicago says that in the days before Illinois women got the ballot he once remonstrated with a legislator from his ward who had voted against a good measure.

"I didn't know you were interested in that bill," said the man, apologetically.

(Continued on page 6.)

SUFFRAGE WORK IN THE STATES

FLORIDA

The second annual convention of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association will be held in Miami January 11, 12 and 13. Miami has two strong suffrage leagues and the men and women of these societies will heartily co-operate in preparing for an enthusiastic and successful convention.

The president, Rev. Mary A. Safford, of Orlando, says: "Effective work throughout the State has been done during the last year and our organization is growing wonderfully as indicated by the enthusiastic endorsement given to it at the recent meeting of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs.

"Let us meet at Miami to plan for increased activity along the most effective lines of endeavor and thus make 'Florida First' for equal suffrage among the Southern States."

NEW YORK

Mrs. Norman De R. Whitehouse was elected chairman of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party at a special meeting last week of the Board of Directors at the New York Headquarters.

Mrs. Whitehouse succeeds Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who resigned to accept the presidency of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Mrs. Catt's resignation from the chairmanship of the recently formed New York State Woman Suffrage Party was accepted by the Board with great reluctance, but in a spirit of loyalty to the general cause of woman suffrage. Mrs. Catt has consented to become one of the four directors of the New York State Party.

The entire board of the State Woman Suffrage Party now reads: Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, chairman; Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, first vice-chairman; Mrs. Raymond Brown, second vice-chairman; Mrs. Henry White Cannon of Delaware County, third vice-chairman; Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid of New York City, treasurer; Mrs. Michael Van Beuren, recording secretary and Miss Alice Morgan Wright, corresponding secretary. The four directors are Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Arthur Livermore of Yonkers; Miss Harriet May Mills of Syracuse; Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey of Buffalo.

Mrs. Catt says of her successor: "Mrs. Whitehouse succeeded in gaining with originality, good sense and good taste the recognition for her cause which has sometimes been brought about by aggressive measures. She never once lost her sane balance through all the heat of the struggle just completed. She seldom antagonized, never alienated, but constantly invented new ways to keep in good humor the vast watching crowds of indifferent spectators who followed the suffrage struggle. What such finesse and adroitness did in the way of winning converts can scarcely be measured."

Miss Mary Garrett Hay is expected to keep her position as political leader for Greater New York City.

Suffragists of Rochester, N. Y., did a bit of public service work recently in agitating and investigating the subject of public comfort stations until the city fathers agreed to respond to the needs of the city. After gathering concrete evidence from proprietors of hotels and theatres, the investigators, Dr. Lillian Daily and Mrs. Florence Cross Kitchelt, submitted their findings in a letter to the mayor and the newspapers. Ten days later the Rochester Herald announced that the city engineer was searching for locations for at least two new comfort stations, and that temporary stations would be ready in all probability within a month.

KENTUCKY

A petition to the Legislature to submit to the voters of Kentucky the suffrage amendment is being circulated by the Kentucky Equal Rights Association. All suffrage workers in the State are urged to help circulate these petitions. The signers may be either men or women but they must be twenty-one years old. "They do not need to believe in suffrage," says Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, campaign chairman, "but merely in democracy, that a question vitally affecting one-half of the people of Kentucky, the women, should be submitted to the voters when a reasonable per cent. of those women ask for submission."

INDIANA

The Ft. Wayne League will give a luncheon of two hundred covers in the ballroom of the Anthony Hotel on Jan. 8. Miss Linda McKinnie has charge of the arrangements. The speaker will be Miss Lutie Stearns of Wisconsin.

The Delphi League will give a series of suffrage teas this winter, the first of which was given recently in Library Hall.

The women of Washington township, Allen County, have a farm women's club, whose purpose is to bring about a community feeling among the women of the township in order that they may help each other in solving the problems which confront them and that they may make their community, through co-operation, a better one in which to live. Some of these women have large gardens under their supervision, some of them whole farms. The subjects discussed range from how to make the best pumpkin pie to soil cultivation, higher education for women and kindred subjects. Its officers are: President, Mrs. Emma Snyder; vice-president, Mrs. Young; secretary, Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson; treasurer, Mrs. John Oswald.

MICHIGAN

Equal suffrage was endorsed by the Michigan Federation of Gleaners at its recent meeting at Port Huron.

A just man ought to accord to every other human being, even to his own wife, the rights which he demands for himself.—Hon. William Dudley Foulke.

PENNSYLVANIA

One of the most encouraging meetings ever held in Lancaster County was the suffrage conference Dec. 18. Delegates from every part of Lancaster County were present, men as well as women, and decision was reached to begin another campaign at once. Mrs. F. P. Griest, in explaining the amendment vote, declared the suffrage amendment polled as many votes as any average candidate, showing those who did vote for it gave the matter close consideration. The association indorsed the movement for the organization of a men's league to give the suffrage cause active assistance.

Beginning with the new year, a series of conferences with workers will be held in various sections of the county.

With the reorganization of the Woman's Suffrage Party of Washington County at the annual meeting last week, the work leading up to the next vote on a constitutional amendment officially began. The meeting was held at LeMoyne House, and was the most enthusiastic session ever held by the county organization.

The officers were re-elected with the exception of the secretary. Miss Mary Lockhart was chosen to succeed Miss Mary McKeen.

The other county officers are: Chairman, Mrs. Edwin Linton, Washington; first vice-president, Miss Alice Jones, Washington; second vice-president, Mrs. H. N. Sutton, Monongahela; third vice-president, Miss Sue Johns, McDonald; fourth vice-president, Mrs. John Colbin, Washington; treasurer, Miss Rachel Warrick, Washington. It was decided to name three vice-presidents in addition to the four there are at present, but these have not yet been elected.

Miss Rachel Warrick, the treasurer, reported that $2,195.15 had been subscribed to the suffrage cause in this county.

VERMONT

With the endorsement of equal suffrage by the State Grange at its annual meeting in Burlington recently, a resolution was adopted asking the Vermont Senators and Representatives in Congress to support the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the federal constitution granting suffrage to women, and asking the Republican and Democratic parties to declare in favor of woman suffrage in their platforms and support legislation to that end.

GEORGIA

The Suffrage School of the Atlanta Equal Suffrage Association will hold its first mid-winter session with several speakers of prominence on the program, Jan. 5. Mrs. Amelia B. Woodall will give an account of the national convention work at this meeting.

The Georgia Young People's Association gave a beautiful Christmas tree to some two dozen destitute children on Christmas Eve. Miss Ruth Bucholtz, president of this association, and her able corps of assistants, gathered from other suffrage organizations, made the tree a splendid success. The funds used for this entertainment were those awarded as a prize to the Young People's Auto in the big suffrage parade held in Atlanta in November. The children for whom the tree was given were selected from among the very poorest element of the city and from that class not usually reached by organized charities.

The Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia will hold a central meeting of the Fulton and de Kalb Counties Branch on Jan. 4. The active State work planned by the organizer, Miss Aurelia Roach, will begin immediately thereafter and will continue throughout the winter.

The "specialization of industry" has no bearing on the suffrage question. Voting is not an industry.

IOWA WORKERS RESOLVE BIG VICTORY IN NEW YEAR

"The first half of the new year is the most important and crucial period of time that has ever come to the women of Iowa," says Mrs. Hiram K. Evans, auditor of the State Suffrage Association, and chairman of Wayne County. "How to bring this fact forcibly and earnestly to the ear of every woman in the State is our supreme task."

Mrs. Evans has expressed the suffrage situation in a nutshell. If there is one New Year resolution that is being made, and which takes precedence over all else, it is the resolution made by all Iowa suffragists: Resolved, That I will do all in my power to make a big suffrage victory for Iowa possible.

The developments in the suffrage situation have been most encouraging through the past months, and on this foundation will be built the activities of the last five months of the campaign. In the opinion of the Waterloo Courier, one of the most encouraging developments in connection with the suffrage campaign in Iowa is the alignment of Bishop Austin M. Dowling on the side of votes for women. Bishop Dowling is bishop of the Des Moines Diocese of the Catholic church, and a man of much influence both in his church and in the State. There has been considerable editorial comment in all parts of the State regarding his firm stand for equal suffrage, and in no instance has there been any word but of commendation.

Something of the attitude of the Iowa press toward suffrage may be gained from the following paragraph from the Dubuque Times-Journal, which is being widely quoted: "Equal suffrage is a debatable question, and Iowans who are honestly opposed to the movement should be given the right of expression, but we want no advice from paid representatives of the interests opposed to equal suffrage."

There will be a two-days' session of the State board and the organizers the second week in January. Miss Helen M. Eacker of Kansas has been added to the organizers. Miss Eacker has had considerable experience in suffrage campaigning. Miss Alice B. Curtis has arrived in Des Moines and is becoming thoroughly familiar with the situation before taking the field. Miss Curtis is a native Iowan, though she gained her suffrage experience in other States. For several years Miss Curtis was executive secretary for the Wisconsin State Association, and she comes to Iowa through the Wisconsin suffragists, who are giving the services of Miss Curtis to Iowa for a month.

Miss Elizabeth Perkins, State board member and suffrage speaker, starts her 1916 suffrage activities today with an address at Sioux City. The day is under the auspices of the Women's Club of Sioux City, of which Mrs. Milton Perry Smith is president, and aside from the address, which is the feature of the afternoon, there is a brilliant social side. Miss Perkins has many speaking dates ahead.

In response to a request from Mrs. James A. Devitt of Oskaloosa, who made one of the principal addresses before the Iowa State Grangers the Grange endorsed the movement for woman suffrage.

Morningside College, at Sioux City, has a thriving equal suffrage club. Previous to their Christmas vacation the members pledged themselves to promote the work in their home towns during the Christmas holidays. Miss Ruth Gillies is the president of the club and she saw that each girl was well fortified with suffrage literature when she started for her home town.

The suffragists of Sac City held a meeting in the Christian Church, at which a number of the prominent local men spoke. The Seymour Political Equality Club also has been having some effective meetings.

Since it was announced that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was elected president of the National Association, the press in all parts of the State have carried stories of how much this would mean to Iowa and its present campaign. Mrs. Catt began her suffrage career some years ago in Iowa, and her progress has been watched with interest. She is a much loved Iowan.

Mrs. Frank Dodson, former recorder of Polk County and for the past five months campaign manager for the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, has declined to take the office of State field secretary. She will remain in suffrage work, however, though having no official connection with the State organization.

College women are learning that the enemy of society is not the woman in Colorado who votes, but the woman in New York who plays bridge. It is not the woman who takes an intelligent interest in the life of which she is a part, but the woman who sits by the window and watches the callers of her neighbors across the way. Not the woman who works in the shops or the factory, but the woman whose days are passed at the bargain counter. Not the woman who earns money, but the woman who wastes it, because she has never learned its value.—Prof. Lucy M. Salmon.

Woman suffrage has resulted in nothing that is objectionable and in much that is advantageous.—U. S. Teller of Colorado.

(Continued from page 4.)

"But why didn't you vote for it on its own merits?" said Mr. Robins.

"I didn't know anything about its merits."

"Why, they were fully explained by Jane Addams and others at the hearing."

"Well, the fact is," acknowledged the solon, "I didn't go to the hearing. The speakers were only a parcel of women!"

Legislators in Illinois do not talk in that tone about women now. From Jane Addams down, those Illinois women who commanded the most personal respect before they had the ballot testify that they receive much more respect today.

"Legislators and men in general regard women's opinions with more respect. The politicians all over the State pay much more attention to what the women want," writes Mrs. Benjamin E. Page of Highland Park, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Illinois State Federation of Women's Clubs (Woman's Journal, June 6, 1914).

Margaret Long, daughter of Ex-Secretary of the Navy Long, has lived for years in Denver. She says in a letter to Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston: "It seems to me impossible that anyone can live in Colorado long enough to get into touch with the life here, and not realize that women count for more in all the affairs of this State than they do where they have not the power the suffrage gives. More attention is paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment."

Mrs. K. A. Sheppard, president of the New Zealand Council of Women, says: "Since women have become electors, their views have become important and command respect. Men listen to and are influenced by the opinions of women to a far greater degree than was the case formerly." (The Outlook, April 3, 1909.)

Ex-Premier Alfred Deakin of the Commonwealth of Australia, says, in the same issue of The Outlook: "There is now a closer attention paid in Parliament to matters especially affecting the (feminine) sex or interesting them."

On this point also, testimony could be multiplied almost indefinitely.

A. S. B.

BALLOTS AND BULLETS

Mr. Conroy says: "Woman suffrage violates the basic principle of all government—that the electorate must possess the inherent power to execute its sovereign will expressed in legislation. Our real protection lies not in the law but in the strong right arm and in the gun and club of the policeman."

If no one was allowed to vote except men able to perform military and police duty, women might consistently be debarred on this ground. But, so long as the old, the infirm, the halt, the lame and the blind among men are freely admitted to the ballot box, some better reason must be found for excluding women than the fact that they do not serve as soldiers or police.

Military men are apt to make light of this particular argument. General Irving Hale, of Denver, calls it "too ridiculous for serious comment." He adds: "If all the men who cannot or do not fight should be disfranchised, the polls would be as lonesome as a sea-bathing resort in December."

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson says: "It appears by the record of United States Military Statistics that out of the men examined for military duty during the Civil War, of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found unfit; of preachers, 974; of physicians, 680; of lawyers, 544. Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they cannot fight, although not one in twenty of their own number is fit for military duty, if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage, only about one in four could himself carry a musket; while, of the lawyers who fill Congress, the majority could not be defenders of their country, but could only be defended." (Common Sense About Women, page 365.)

Col. Higginson points out, also, that these statistics do not apply to the whole male population, but only to those who were examined for military service; that is, to men of fighting age; so that the actual proportion physically unfit must be considerably larger.

No State in the Union recognizes any connection between the right to vote and the power to bear arms. A man becomes liable to military service at eighteen, but he is not allowed to vote till he is twenty-one. He ceases to be liable to military service at forty-five, but he may go on voting till he is one hundred.

As the late William I. Bowditch said: "The best fighters, the young men between eighteen and twenty-one, are not allowed to vote, while the wisest voters, those over forty-five, are not required to fight."

Non-combatants are already admitted to the ballot box by millions. There is no certainty at any election that the majority of legal voters represents the majority of possible fighters.

Even Mr. Taft, in his recent article against woman suffrage in the Saturday Evening Post, admits the emptiness of this particular objection and points out that if it were sound it would disfranchise all the men who are incapable of military service.

As for police duty, men are not compelled to serve in the police. Out of those who volunteer, and who come up to certain required standards of height and weight, a sufficient number are hired; and they are paid out of tax money levied impartially on the property of men and women. Women contribute to the police protection of the country in exactly the same way that the majority of men do, i. e., they help to pay for it.

Until comparatively recent years, policemen in England were not allowed to vote; and in some countries the man who becomes a soldier is thereby disfranchised.

Either the power to do military and police duty is a necessary qualification for suffrage, or it is not. If it is, the men who lack it ought to be excluded. If it is not, the lack of it is no reason for excluding women. There is no escape from this conclusion.

From the American point of view, it is well to keep fighting and voting as separate as possible. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote during the Hayes-Tilden controversy:

To cut men's throats to help them count their votes
Is asinine—nay, worse, ascidian folly.
Blindness like that would scare the mole and bat,
And make the liveliest monkey melancholy.
I say once more, as I have said before,
If voting for our Tildens and our Hayeses
Means only fight, then, Liberty, good night!
Pack up your ballot box and go to blazes!

A. S. B.

WOMAN'S PART IN WAR

Mr. Conroy says: "The woman's ballot would be a blank cartridge ballot." To a large extent the cartridges for the present war are being made by women, especially in Germany. The actual military value of its women to any warring nation is very great; and the present conflict is bringing out this fact more clearly than ever before. Germany has 70,000 women hard at work turning out munitions, and England is using an increasing number of women for the same work. If any nation involved in war were to have all its women suddenly swept off by some mysterious pestilence, it would have to withdraw a large number of its fighting men from the front to make ammunition, to get in the harvests, to care for the children and for the sick and wounded, and to do all the other absolutely necessary work that is now carried on by the women while their men are in the field.

Not only are women making a large part of the munitions for this war, but they furnish the most fundamental and indispensable munition for all wars— the men.

Lucy Stone said: "Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. Later she does picket duty over his cradle, and for years she is his quartermaster and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to a man, shall he say to his mother, 'If you want to vote, you must first go and kill somebody?' It is a coward's argument!"

Mrs. Z. G. Wallace, of Indiana—a distinguished suffragist in her day—from whom Gen. Lew Wallace drew the portrait of the noble mother in "Ben Hur," said: "If women do not fight, they give to the State all its soldiers." This ought in all fairness to be taken as an offset for the military service that women do not render. As Lady Henry Somerset puts it, "She who bears armies does not need to bear arms."

And, since women furnish all the men for war, and bear their share of the terrible burdens and sufferings of war, it is only the most elementary justice that they should have a voice in choosing the rulers who make the fateful decision whether a country shall enter upon war.

It is not desirable that women should fight, but in case of extreme need they can and do. It was shown in the Boer War, and in Cuba; it was shown among the early American settlers in their conflicts with the Indians; and it is being shown today by the many women reported to be serving with the armies of Russia and Serbia. Ex-Secretary of the Navy Long said: "Imagine arguing with a sober face against a man whose brains are reduced to such a minimum that he solemnly says a woman should not vote because she cannot fight! In the first place, she can fight: in the second, men are largely exempt from military service; and, finally, there is not the remotest relation between firing a musket and casting a ballot."

As for the fear that laws would not be enforced if women voted, women now have the ballot in many different parts of the world, and the laws are as well enforced in the countries where women vote as in those where they do not.

Next week we shall take up Mr. Conroy's argument about "Suffrage, Feminism and Socialism."

A. S. B.

SHORT CUTS TO SUFFRAGE

A new and interesting point for the nation-wide suffrage amendment was made by a Southern woman at one of the recent Congressional hearings.

Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, president of the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association, spoke with others in behalf of the petition to Congress to submit a nation-wide woman suffrage amendment to the State Legislatures. She was asked whether she thought it would be right for a State Legislature to decide the question on its own responsibility, without referring it to the voters. She answered:

"The Alabama suffragists asked the Alabama Legislature to submit the question to the voters of the State, but our Legislature refused. It preferred to decide the matter itself. Therefore we are now asking Congress to refer the question to the Legislature of Alabama and those of all the other States for their decision."

The opponents of equal suffrage reproach its advocates with seeking a "short cut" to carry it; but they themselves have always sought the shortest cut to kill it. Whenever a State Legislature is asked to submit a constitutional amendment to the voters, the anti-suffragists oppose submission, and beg the Legislature to kill the measure on its own responsibility. New York is the sole exception. For a long series of years, the antis in that State opposed submission; but after all the political parties had declared for submission, the antis withdrew their objection, finding that they could no longer make it effective. In New Jersey and Pennsylvaia, even after all the political parties had pledged themselves to submit a suffrage amendment, the anti-suffrage organizations implored the legislators to throw overboard the party platforms on which they had been elected, and to refuse to let the voters pass upon the question.

The opponents of equal rights often abuse the Illinois Legislature for granting women presidential and muncipal suffrage on its own responsibility, without referring it to the voters. They even insinuate that the suffragists wanted to avoid a popular vote. For twenty years the Illinois suffragists had been urging the submission of a constitutional amendment, and the antis had been opposing submission, and begging the Legislature to decide the question adversely by its own act. As a rule, opponents do not even hint a doubt of the Legislature's moral right to decide the matter on its own responsibility until the Legislature begins to show leanings toward suffrage.

They are just as ready to deny the people's right to decide, when the popular vote is favorable. When Wyoming came in as a State, after twenty years' experience of woman suffrage as a Territory, its people, men and women, elected a constitutional convention which drew up a constitution for the new State, and included woman suffrage in it by an almost unanimous vote. This constitution was submitted to the voters of Wyoming, men and women, and was approved by a large majority. It was then submitted to Congress for ratification. The opponents of suffrage in Congress first tried to have Congress strike out the woman suffrage clause bodily—preferring as usual, the shortest cut. Failing in this, they then tried to have the suffrage clause submitted again to the voters of Wyoming, not with the constitution as a whole, but separately. And how submitted? To a vote of the women alone, to make quite sure that a majority of the women really wanted it? By no means, but to a vote of the men alone, the women to be allowed no say in the matter. And this precious proposal came very near carrying Congress. There was not one word of protest against it from Dr. Lyman Abbott, who is now so insistent that the women ought to be allowed to vote on the question, nor from any of the statesmen who are at present declaring that each part of the country ought to decide the matter for itself.

To sum up—the people who are bent on blocking equal suffrage always seek the shortest and easiest way to their end. With what consistency can they blame the suffragists for doing the same?

A. S. B.

When an elector's mind is made up, there is less difficulty in expressing it through the ballot box than in matching a ribbon; and the one act is not considered more unfeminine than the other.—Lady Holder, wife of the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia.

Schools cost money, and boards of education are composed chiefly of business men, men eager to keep down taxes and willing to have children work. It may be a mere coincidence (but an interesting one) that illiteracy looms largest where women have least power, and grows less where they vote.—Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary National Consumers' League.

A woman may vote as a stockholder upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other. But if she sells her stock and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for.—George William Curtis.

HEARING BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE

Mrs. Catt Makes Telling Comparison Between Easy Path to Franchise for Men and Hard Road for Women—Speakers Ask Submission of Federal Amendment

A staggering comparison between the gift of the ballot to the men of the United States and the immense campaigns which the women of the nation are compelled to wage to show that they want to vote was made by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt at the hearing before the United States Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage Dec. 15. "We can carry a referendum in New York," declared Mrs. Catt, "but we believe we have done everything that is needed to be done to show that we want enfranchisement." Each of the speakers asked for the submission of a federal amendment to the State Legislatures.

Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, who spoke from the Southern woman's point of view, was the first speaker.

"It is significant that there has been no referendum on suffrage in the South," she said. "The Legislatures have taken into their own hands the question, and that is all we ask you to do—put it into their hands by submitting the federal amendment." Mrs. Jacobs showed the previous inconsistency of Southern Congressmen who voted against the amendment on State Rights grounds while voting for the prohibition amendment, and she showed that there are four million more white women than Negro women in the South.

Shows Southern Conditions

"A larger number of women of South Carolina are wage earners than in any other State." She said, "The chivalry of the men of the South is no doubt sincere, but they cannot see that the times have changed. The incentive is held out to the Negro men of the South to be educated, to be frugal and to acquire property; but no such incentive is held out to white women. The demand for suffrage is not a sectional one. There is little or no organized opposition to suffrage in any State in the South."

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who presided, then introduced Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, who gave a resumé of the progress of the suffrage movement. Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees told of the work of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for forty-five years for a federal amendment.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the next speaker, said: "Since the last appeal made to your committee, something new has happened in the realm of our activity, and that is the vote in four States on the question." Mrs. Catt said that over a million men had declared their belief in equal suffrage, and then told of the difficulties of State campaigns. She quoted Macaulay: "Half the logic of misgovernment lies in this one sophistical dilemma. If the people are turbulent, they are unfit for liberty; if they are quiet, they do not want liberty."

Turns to History

In the vote this fall, Mrs. Catt said suffragists met the amazing dilemma of men who said they would vote against the amendment because the women of England had been militant, while others held, as did many of the members of Congress, that women had not shown sufficiently that they wanted the ballot. Which should women do? If they were quiet, they did not want it; if they were turbulent, they were said not to deserve it. In turning to history to see what men had done to gain liberty, Mrs. Catt had found the astounding fact that fifteen million of the men over twenty-one were either aliens, men who had been naturalized or whose ancestors had been naturalized, or Negroes. These classes form two-thirds of our electorate. What had they done to win their liberty? Mrs. Catt pointed out that no demand had been made on the part of the Negro for his enfranchisement, and that for 115 years the naturalization law had automatically given citizenship, and with it a vote, to the men who came from foreign lands. No foreigner had been asked whether he wanted the vote or not, or whether he was fit to vote.

No Struggle For Male Suffrage

She then turned to the other one-third of the male voting electorate and showed how the suffrage had been extended to Jews and Catholics by the original thirteen colonies, not because of any great demand, but simply because Great Britain, hoping to gain their favor, had given them suffrage in Canada, a lead which the colonies thought they must follow. She said that the only semblance of a struggle for the extension of suffrage had been on the part of those who did not own land, and even there the demand had been insignificant. In the New York Constitutional Convention of 1821, when the question of eliminating the land qualification came up, some of the delegates asked what demand had been shown on the part of the disqualified men. The reply was that there had been "some meetings." No delegate had either attended or seen a meeting. Yet the qualification was removed.

"Now," said Mrs. Catt, "what have women done to win their liberty?" Taking New York State alone, where women had worked no harder, made no more sacrifices than in many other States, in proportion to the population, she declared that 10,300 meetings had been held in the last six months; that 7,500,000 leaflets had been printed, 3½ per voter, using twenty tons of paper; there had been 720 separate treasuries, with every bookkeeper except two a volunteer; that women had contributed more than $100,000; and that on election day 6,300 women had watched at the polls from six o'clock in the morning until after the vote had been counted; that 2,500 campaign officers had served, every one without pay; and that a series of most unique publicity features had culminated in a parade of 20,000 women in New York City alone.

Too Humiliating a Task

The result of all this effort, as nearly as was known, had been that about 535,000 votes had been cast for the amendment, or 2,000 more than the total vote for suffrage in the nine States where the amendment had won on a popular vote. In Rochester all the men in the almshouse and rescue home, two of them over 90, had been voted against the amendment; in many polling places throughout the entire day not a single man who voted but had had to be assisted. The paupers and the illiterates had generally voted against suffrage. Even with these handicaps, she believed a referendum could be won, but she declared that it had been sufficiently shown that women wanted the vote. The federal way was hard enough, but not so difficult.

Women had campaigned in 24 different languages in New York.

Though a great many of the foreign-born were favorable, certain classes had voted almost solidly against the amendment. "We claim it is too humiliating a task to put upon us," said Mrs. Catt. "We believe we should have the easier method." It was 25 years ago, she said, that she had come before this committee, and ever since then she had been working steadily for suffrage. "No man in this country or any other has given up 25 years of his life to the cause of his enfranchisement," she declared.

Need Ballot For Citizenship

Mrs. Harriet Thompson of Illinois spoke for the working women, and for the teachers. "How can a woman teach citizenship who has not herself the rights of a citizen?" she asked. Mrs. George Bass of Chicago, in speaking for women voters, said:

"We want you to give the ballot to women, not because we believe they will be good citizens, but to assure you that they are good citizens of this country, and they need the ballot in order to express their citizenship to its fullest degree.

"They have done and are doing in every State civic service of inestimable value, but they have done it by slow, toilsome and painful processes. They have had to come for help, not to you nor to such as you, gentlemen of the committee, but to the ward politician and the political boss, to whom they were as nothing because they had no votes.

"They are tired of this method, their dignity as women and their self-respect as citizens revolts from its use. They are doing their full share of the world's work. Give them, then, the necessary weapon which alone can make their work effective. Give it to them because it is simple justice, or give it to them because of a higher selfishness which makes you realize that you need this unused citizenship about you even more than they need the ballot."

Suffrage a National Question

Mrs. Antoinette Funk thanked the committee for its kindness to the Congressional Committee of the National Association. Dr. Shaw closed the hearing by answering the objection that this is not a national question. "That might be true," said Dr. Shaw, "if nothing entered into women's lives of national interest. The women of the United States are affected by the laws of Congress, as are the men." Could there be a year that showed this more forcibly, she asked, than the present one? There was no question that would agitate Congress more than that of preparedness; but when we look across the sea we find no question more essential to the women of foreign countries than that of war or peace. There is not a woman in this country who does not look at her paper each morning to see whether we are nearer the brink. If these things extend to Congress, is it not a question of as vital importance to the women of this country whether we are at war or at peace, as it is to the men? This is equally true of the tariff, of prohibition and of the other great and important issues before Congress. "Constitutionally and ethically," said Dr. Shaw, "women should have something to say."

Copies of the hearing before the Senate committee will be published and will be awaited as a very valuable suffrage document.

UNION PRESENTS CASE FOR ACTION

Women in Washington Appear Before Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage

Representatives of the Congressional Union appeared before the Senate committee on woman suffrage the day following the hearing of the National Suffrage Association, and urged speedy and favorable action on the federal amendment.

Miss Julia Hurlburt of New Jersey told of the difficulties of State campaigns. Mrs. Roach of Louisiana spoke from a Southern woman's point of view. Mrs. Agnes Jenks showed the difficulty of amending many State constitutions. Senator Clapp was paid a warm tribute by Mrs. Alden H. Potter of Minnesota, who said that only one amendment had ever carried in her State because of the constitution's difficult amending clause.

"I might have walked from Boston to Washington," said Mrs. Glendower Evans, "but I took a Pullman car. We will campaign in the States till the end of our lives, if we have to, but we want the short cut—a federal amendment."

"We women who are free in California are pariahs when we cross the Mississippi," said Mrs. Frances Joliffe, who with Mrs. Sara Bard Field spoke as women voters.

"A great movement is growing among the women voters, the end of which cannot be foreseen," said Mrs. Field.

Others who spoke were Mrs. R. H. Ashbaugh of Michigan, Mrs. Cyrus Mead and Mrs. James Rector of Ohio, Mrs. Annie Porritt and Mrs. William Spencer Murray of Connecticut and Mrs. Dana Durand of Minnesota.

Miss Anne Martin of Nevada introduced the speakers, and Senator Sutherland of Utah presided as chairman in the absence of Senator Thomas of Colorado.

The National Woman's Peace Party Convention will be held in Washington January 8-10.

The Peace Party also announces at this time plans for a great Carnegie Hall mass meeting in New York City to be held on the evening of Jan. 5 in conjunction with the Labor Forum. Miss Helen Keller will be the chief speaker.

We men require women's suffrage as much for our own sake as for women's sake.—Israel Zangwill.

WOULD CARRY ON HUSBAND'S PLANS

California Wife Will Be Candidate for His Unexpired Term in State Legislature

Mrs. Florence A. Scott of Selma, Cal., widow of the late L. D. Scott, Assemblyman from the Fiftieth District, will be a candidate for the unexpired term in the lower House of the California Legislature which her husband would have served had he lived, in case another session is called. Mrs. Scott is a Republican.

"If elected, I shall carry out the policies of my husband along Republican lines," said Mrs. Scott.

Confidence in victory for Mrs. Scott was expressed by A. A. Selden, Selma member of the Fresno County Republican Central Committee.

"I saw W. C. Ralston, chairman of the State Republican Committee, and he favored the candidacy of Mrs. Scott," said Selden, according to the Sacramento Bee. "Many others have come out in favor of her candidacy."

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont has brought out the libretto for a suffrage opera. Miss Elsie Maxwell has written the music. The opera, which is called "Melinda and Her Sisters," is a satire on society and will be presented on Feb. 18 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The receipts will be used to further equal suffrage.

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Suffrage Exchange

I AM AN EDUCATED MAN and know suffrage. Am a good writer. My employer will remove me if I write for suffrage, so I want to change occupation. Will some suffragist buy, improve and stock a small farm and sell to me at liberal advance and 8 per cent. interest, nothing down and seven years' time? Then I can and will work, write and speak for suffrage. Will give a good business trade. Address "U." care Woman's Journal. (2)

WORKING WOMEN National Woman's Trade Union League stands for self-government in the workshop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given. LIFE AND LABOR working women's magazine 10c a copy. Mrs. Raymond Robins, President. Headquarters 186 W. Washington St., Chicago. (cow)

HELP US to dispose of our 1000 Suffrage Cook Books. $1.00 per copy. $1.10 prepaid, mailed to any point. Every recipe guaranteed. Equal Franchise Federation, 3048 Jenkins Arcade, Pittsburg, Pa (tf)

SITUATIONS.

THOUSANDS MEN AND WOMEN WANTED. U. S. Government Jobs. $75.00 month. Rapid advance to $150 month. Vacations. No layoffs. Short hours. Common education sufficient. "Pull" unnecessary. Write immediately for free list of positions now obtainable. Franklin Institute, Dep't F124, Rochester, N. Y. (6)

CANADIAN WOMEN START CAMPAIGN

Desire Extension of Municipal Vote to Married Women and Parliamentary Vote to All

A petition asking for the enfranchisement of Manitoba women and signed by 39,534 women of the province, was presented to Premier Norris at Winnipeg, Man., Dec. 23, by a deputation from the political equality league. The premier assured the women that the bill providing for equal suffrage had been prepared and added that the government hoped for its early passage at the coming session of the Legislature.

Premier Norris and his supporters were pledged to give the women of Manitoba the vote when it was demanded by a petition signed by 15 per cent. as many women as there were votes cast at the last provincial election. The women of Manitoba had little difficulty in getting many more signatures than the 15 per cent.

Mrs. Nellie L. McClung of Edmonton, Alberta, writes the Woman's Journal that full franchise is expected for the women of Alberta and Manitoba at the February session of the Provincial Legislatures. This will mean Dominion as well as Provincial franchise.

Mrs. Eliza B. Hettle of Fairfax, Manitoba, writes: "I am sure that 95 per cent. of our rural women signed the petition for 'Votes for Women'."

There are nearly 10,000 highly educated women in England who have registered for war work under the Federation of University Women. Among the new positions open to educated women that have been supplied by the federation are the post of draftsman in an aeroplane factory, of expert accountant in an insurance office and supervisorships in munition factories.

WOMEN LAWYERS TO DEFEND GIRLS

Chicago Public Defenders' League Formed for Special Court and Woman Judge

Thirty women lawyers of Chicago have formed the Public Defenders' League for Girls, it was announced last week, for the purpose of preventing any girl from being sent to jail for a first offence, subsequently to become the prey of professional bondsmen.

Members of the league will ask Chief Justice Olson of the municipal court to create a special girls' court and appoint a woman as judge. The women attorneys have agreed to give one day a month free of charge to the proposed special court, defending young women offenders.

PARDONED WOMAN BEFRIENDS GIRLS

New Morals Court in Chicago Shows Good Results in Short Time

The splendid reforms which the new morals court in Chicago is working have received new confirmation. A little more than three years ago Grace Bennett was one of the best gowned women in Chicago's then notorious levee district. Then came the crusade which wiped out that section. Miss Bennett, like hundreds of her kind, was driven to the streets. One day she was arrested and taken before the new morals court. Judge Uhlir gave her a chance.

Last week, according to a press dispatch, she was before the morals court again to plead for a fallen girl. Judge Uhlir recognized the woman he paroled three years ago. After her parole, a prominent South side social leader took her into his home. He made her one of his family, on trial. Grace made good, and today is doing reform work of her own.

THE SUFFRAGE STRENGTH

Since the United States Senate acted on the nation-wide suffrage amendment, nearly two million votes in eleven States have been cast for the enfranchisement of women. Besides this, in the suffrage States there is a solid popular vote of four and one-half millions for president of the United States. The combined suffrage strength, as shown in only twenty-one of the forty-eight States of the Union, is more than six and one-half millions, or 200,000 more votes than President Wilson received at the last presidential election throughout the country.

Vote for suffrage in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New Jersey	1,225,621
Official vote for suffrage in seven States acting on question in 1914 (Montana, Nevada, Ohio, Missouri, Nebraska, North and South Dakota)	740,163
Popular vote in nine suffrage States (California, Washington, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Oregon, Colorado, Arizona and Kansas)	2,574,359
Popular vote in Illinois, based on presidential election of 1912, combined with estimate that the same percentage of women will vote as at the last election in Chicago	1,971,452
Total popular strength of suffrage in twenty-one States	6,511,595
Popular vote of President Wilson in 1912 in forty-eight States	6,293,019

When the demand for equal suffrage on the part of voters rises to such a height throughout the country, it must be considered a national question of paramount importance. It is time for Congress to act.

JUDGE DECIDES WIFE MUST OBEY

Believes It Right of Every Man to Say if Wife May Dance

In Oklahoma a man has a perfect right to forbid his wife's dancing, and she must obey or take the consequences. Those were the rulings of Judge E. D. Oldfield in denying Mrs. Cecil Donovan's petition for divorce from Charles Donovan.

Mrs. Donovan said she and her husband were at a social gathering one evening and he told her not to dance. When she glided away regardless, he grabbed her arm and jerked it roughly, she told the court.

"It appears," said the judge, "that the real cause of all the trouble between this husband and wife was her desire to dance, notwithstanding his pronounced dislike for that sort of recreation. I'm going to deny this decree because I believe it is the right of every man to say whether or not his wife shall dance. If a husband tells a wife she must not attend dances, she must abide by his wishes."

RULES COMMITTEE HAS LAST WORD

Special Action Needed for Consideration of Suffrage Amendment if Judiciary Reports

Pressure is being brought to obtain a special rule from the House rules committee for the early consideration of the nation-wide suffrage amendment. Although the resolution has not yet been before the committee having jurisdiction over it, suffragists are taking no chances and are already working for a rule to make them privileged.

Chairman Robert L. Henry of the House rules committee said last week that both legislators and outsiders interested in woman suffrage and prohibition have demanded a special rule to force prompt consideration of these issues when Congress reconvenes in January.

Mr. Henry said it was uncertain what his committee would do. Chairman Henry is said to be opposed personally to woman suffrage as a national issue. He believes the question should be settled by the States, but there is a prospect that Mr. Henry and his committee colleagues will not care to assume the responsibility of denying a vote in the House.

Without a special rule there is likelihood that the suffrage resolution, if reported by the judiciary committee, may be placed on a crowded calendar and not be reached during the session.

A federal suffrage bill, S. 1539, to give women the right to vote for the national Senators and Congressmen was introduced in the Senate by Senator Lane of Oregon and one in the House, H. R. 6, by Representative Helvering of Kansas.

With only one dissenting vote, a resolution favoring a national constitutional amendment to grant suffrage to women was passed by the Maine State Grange at its 42d annual convention at Portland, Dec. 21.

ON A HEARING BEFORE A COMMITTEE

By Alice Duer Miller in the New York Tribune

(Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, at the suffrage hearing before the House Judiciary Committee, stated that there were no laws in South Carolina to limit women's hours whereupon Representative Whaley, of South Carolina, said that he did not believe it.)

What is the lady saying that distresses the gentleman so much?

She is telling him that there are no laws to protect the working hours of women in South Carolina.

What form does his distress take?

It takes the form of telling her that he does not believe what she says.

Is what she says untrue?

No, it is correct.

Perhaps the gentleman is not American and so should not be expected to know our laws?

No, the gentleman is an American.

Perhaps, then, he is an astronomer or a poet and does not concern himself with laws?

On the contrary, he is a lawmaker.

Probably, then, he comes from some distant State in which conditions are very different.

No, he is a Representative from South Carolina.

Surely he is not the representative of the women of South Carolina?

All the representative that they have.

LESLIE WILL IS STILL UNDECIDED

One Favorable Verdict Gained Not Sufficient for Suffrage Assurance

Surrogate Fowler last week refused to set aside the probate of the will of Mrs. Frank Leslie, in which she disposed of an estate of $1,748,550, more than $1,000,000 of which goes to the woman suffrage cause. The Surrogate emphatically denounced allegations that Mrs. Leslie's mother was a Louisiana negress slave.

Suffragists are not counting on the money left them by Mrs. Leslie to help them out in the campaign for the vote that they will take up again with vigor after the first of the year. While one suit for the money has been decided in their favor there is another pending, and if it is continued it will probably be some months before there is a final decision.

ILLINOIS LAWYER GIVES HIS OPINION

Attorney General Says Women Cannot Vote for Presidential Party Nominees

Attorney General P. J. Lucey of Illinois has rendered his opinion that women have no right to vote for delegates to presidential conventions. This opinion is at variance with the contention of attorneys for the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, who have insisted that in view of the express privilege accorded women of voting for presidential electors they also should be allowed to participate in the nomination of party candidates.

Secretary of State Lewis G. Stevenson, who is chief election officer in the State, and County Judge Thomas F. Scully, who is at the head of the election machinery in Chicago are not obliged to act in accordance with the attorney general's opinion.

LAST LAUGHS

"Sammy," asked the teacher, "what is a cameo?"

"Please, ma'am, it's an animal that wears a hump."—Youth's Companion.

First Shopper: "It's so hard to find just what you want!"

Second Shopper: "Yes, especially when you haven't the slightest idea what it is."—Boston Transcript.

During a recent examination of enlisted men in Uncle Sam's navy this question was asked: "Name the principal parts of a sentence." The answer was: "Solitary confinement, and bread and water."—Everybody's.

Jones (to Brown, who has been relating his wonderful adventures in Russia): "And I suppose you visited the great steppes of Russia?"

Brown: "I should rather think so. And walked up every blessed one of them on my hands and knees."—London Tit-Bits.

William Dean Howells once went into a department store in a New England village and said to the clerk at the book counter, "Please give me the letters of Charles Lamb."

"Post office right across the street, Mr. Lamb," said the clerk, with a brisk smile.—Illustrated Sunday Magazine.

This is a true story. Little Walter, whose father is a professor in a Middle West University, was scrutinizing his parents closely, and said: "Father, you have such heavy eyebrows, and mother has hardly any! What are eyebrows for?" The father replied, impromptu, "Why, eyebrows are—er—eyebrows—they are to keep the sweat from getting into people's eyes, when they work hard." "But, father," protested Walter, "I don't see how that can be, for mother's would need to be many times heavier than yours." And father was lost in thought.—Christian Register.

In a rural court the old squire had made a ruling so unfair that three young lawyers at once protested against such a miscarriage of justice. The squire immediately fined each of them $5 for contempt of court. There was silence, and then an older lawyer walked slowly to the front of the room and deposited a $10 bill with the clerk. He then addressed the judge as follows: "Your Honor, I wish to state that I have twice as much contempt for this court as any man in the room."—Youth's Companion.

Woman's Journal
And Suffrage News

VOL. 47. NO. 1. SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1916 FIVE CENTS

DR. DAVIS RESIGNS FOR NEW POSITION

Commissioner of Corrections Heads New Parole Board with Salary of $7,500

Dr. Katharine B. Davis has resigned as Commissioner of Corrections of New York City to accept the chairmanship of the new Parole Board. The appointment takes effect Jan. 1.

The other two commissioners of the new Parole Board will be men whose salary will be $5,500. One member of the new Parole Board is appointed for six years, the other for four years, while Dr. Davis' appointment is for two years. Dr. Davis' salary will be the same as it is now as Commissioner of Correction, $7,500.

Referring to his appointments, Mayor Mitchel said:

"I have selected Dr. Davis for appointment to membership on the new Parole Board. She will occupy the principal position. Dr. Davis, by temperament, by training and by experience, is the best fitted person I can find for the position.

"The signal success of her work as Commissioner of Corrections is well known to all. Because of that work and because I want the vast powers of the Parole Commission placed in safe and sane hands,

(Continued on page 2.)

WOMAN SCULPTOR WINS U. S. AWARD

Miss Scudder, a Suffragist, Will Design Gold Medals for A. B. C. Mediators

Designing of the three gold medals to be presented by the United States to Ambassadors Naon of Argentina; Da Gama of Brazil, and Suarez of Chili, popularly known as the A. B. C. mediators, was awarded at Washington by Secretary Lansing last week to Miss Jeannette Scudder of New York. Miss Scudder is an active suffragist, as well as an able sculptor.

BIG CONFERENCE COMES IN MAY

Mississippi Valley Suffrage Meeting to Be Held May 7-10 in Minneapolis

The Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference for 1916 has been announced by the chairman, Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson of Chicago. The conference will be held at Minneapolis, May 7-10. The question of vital importance to be discussed is the assisting of the campaign States of the year—Iowa, West Virginia and South Dakota.

MARYLAND BABIES DIE AT "FARMS"

One Plot of Ground, Fifty-five Feet Square, Holds 5,000 Deserted Illegitimates

Maryland's State-wide vice-commission, appointed by Gov. Goldsborough in 1913, has just made public the result of its inquiry. The most startling feature dealt with is the alleged traffic in babies.

It is asserted that investigators found there are institutions in Baltimore to which the mother of an illegitimate child may consign her offspring, upon the payment of a certain sum, and forever rid herself of legal responsibility for it.

Of the hundreds of children taken by the institutions, the commission states that from 80 to 90 per cent. die and are buried in heaps in small plots of ground, one such plot, approximately fifty-five feet square, having been the tomb of 5,000 babies since 1886.

Much attention is given in the report to social conditions in factories, stores and office buildings, and many instances are given of immorality forced upon girls by the employers or their superiors at their places of employment, the penalty of refusal being the loss of position.

SUFFRAGE WON MORE VOTES THAN TAFT OR ROOSEVELT

Also Received Bigger Percentage of Votes Cast in Four States than President Wilson Did in 1912 according to Official Returns

The announcement for the first time of official returns on the suffrage amendment in New York State last week makes it clear that in the four States where the question went to the voters in 1915 it received a total of 1,225,621 votes, or a greater number than either Taft or Roosevelt polled in the same States at the last presidential election. President Wilson himself received 1,402,791 votes in these States, or only 177,170 more than the suffrage amendment, and suffrage polled a greater favorable per cent. of the votes cast on the question than did Mr. Wilson of the votes cast at the presidential election of 1912.

The vote in New York State on equal suffrage stood: For, 544,457; against, 732,770; majority against, 188,313. The totals do not include Oneida County, where the vote of Utica has been held up by a court order.

The unofficial majority in Oneida County is placed at 6,154 against, which means a probable vote of about 8,000 for and 14,000 against. More than 550,000 votes were cast for suffrage in the State of New York. More votes were cast for and against it in New York than on any of the five other questions submitted, except the revised constitution, on which about 5,000 more men voted; but, whereas suffrage failed to carry by a majority of 188,313, the new constitution was beaten by a majority of 504,669. In like manner, the majority against altering the rate of interest on State bonds was 291,450; the majority against the proposal to change apportionment in New York City was 513,476, and the majority against the taxation referendum was 568,476. The only proposition to carry was the referendum on a bond issue for the Barge Canal. In a year when the electorate was generally voting "no," suffrage received a much greater favorable vote than any other question except one.

The official vote in the four States which voted on equal suf-

(Continued on page 2.)

SHOULD VIRGINIA MEN LOSE VOTE?

Manhood Suffrage Failed to Prevent Recent Labor Riots and Mobs as in Colorado

"Rioting grew so fierce as to be altogether out of hand." "Citizen guards were powerless to maintain order." "Appeals were made to the Governor to send the militia." "Everywhere lawyers, doctors, business men and laborers were sitting on the goods they had managed to save with rifles across their knees and revolvers in their belts."

These sentences are not descriptive of a scene in the equal suffrage States where the governments are said to be powerless because women vote; they are taken from the New York Times's account of what happened in the Du Pont city of Hopewell, Virginia, the day after the fire. They are not telling about an industrial disturbance, but about homeless people at the mercy of a lawless mob.

Manhood suffrage did not save Virginia from disturbance, and it has not saved Pennsylvania. Yet it seems that the Wilkes-Barre rioting is not related to the suffrage at all. Manhood suffrage, when brought face to face with riot and bloodshed, "has nothing to do with the case." It's only where women vote, as in Colorado, that "civic unrest" relates itself to the ballot box. Nevertheless, it was one of life's little ironies that just when the antis thought they had proved woman suffrage dangerous to law and order, Pennsylvania, whose men had just concluded to save the State from the votes of its womanhood, should have kicked over their sophistries with a riot.

NORWEGIAN MEN WAIVE ARGUMENT

State Suffrage Right in Norway Passed Discussion Stage, Is Now a Matter of Course

At the centenary of the Norwegian constitution, celebrated in Christiania in the summer of 1914, public men were appealed to by suffrage workers for an expression of opinion on the consequences of giving the vote to women, for it was thought such testimony might have an effect on the numerous American voters of Norwegian extraction who were soon to pronounce on the issue in several of our States. The answer was, writes Hanna Astrup Larsen in the January Yale Review, that the question had long since passed beyond the pale of discussion, and a Norwegian statesman arguing on the right of women to vote would feel as foolish as an American if he were to discourse on their right to learn to read or to go about in public unveiled. Less than a quarter of a century had elapsed between the first demand by a few pioneers and the granting of political rights to women; half a decade had sufficed to make the new order accepted as a matter of course.

FORM OF BEQUEST

I hereby give and bequeath to the Proprietors of The Woman's Journal, published in Boston, a corporation established under the laws of Massachusetts, the sum of ———— dollars.

SALOON'S HAND SEEN BEHIND CHICAGO ELECTION ESTIMATE

Commission Proposes Increased Cost of Women's Vote That Would Be Larger in Itself Than Previous Costs for Men

The statement was put forth by the election commissioners of Chicago last week that in 1916 the total election expense in Chicago would amount to the huge sum of $2,439,655, and that $791,929, or 32 per cent. of the total, was estimated as the expense due to the women's vote.

There is evidently good reason why such an "estimate" is issued at this time. One of the principal arguments used by the opposition to equal suffrage in the campaigns last fall was that of increased election expense, for many voters are most easily swayed by an appeal that touches their pocket-books. The liquor interests are still attacking the woman suffrage law in the Illinois courts, and are anxious to discredit it in every possible way. Just how this attitude connects with the Chicago election commission was shown at once by Oscar E. Hewitt, one of the foremost newspaper writers of the country, in a signed article in the Chicago Herald of Dec. 26.

"Perhaps there is no significance in the board's estimate," says Mr. Hewitt. "But the liquor interests are not usually credited with being enthusiastic over woman voters. Two of the election commissioners, August Lueders and Frank X. Rydzewski, recently were given considerable publicity by the Senator in the Herald because of their vocations as beer agents."

The commission went too far in proving its case, however; for Mr. Hewitt points out that only three times before in the last thirty years have Chicago elections cost as much as it is proposed to spend on the women alone next year.

In 1911 only men were permitted to vote. In the spring 425,924 were registered and 370,352 voted. In the fall of that year only 176,000 men went to the polls. The total election expense of that year was $696,725. There are at present on the registry books 284,533 names of qualified women voters.

"Naturally the question arises as to why it costs more now to permit fewer women to vote," says Mr. Hewitt.

In their estimate the election commission divides the women's vote, on the basis of 300 to a precinct, into 948 precincts. It also divides the registered male vote of 491,246 into 1,637 precincts. This would make a total of 2,585 precincts, but the board says charitably that "by careful calculation" it "feels certain it will be able to reduce this number to approximately 2,330." This would mean "about 830 precincts on account of the woman vote and 1,500 on account of the male vote."

One would almost be led to conclude that in only 118 precincts women would register and vote at the same polling places as men. Such is not the case, for it is safe to say that in most cases the women will vote in the same polling places as men, and that the election machinery which Chicago used for men alone will not have to be altered to so great an extent as the commission has "estimated." Unfortunately, women cannot vote for election commissioners in Chicago.

DR. DAVIS RESIGNS FOR NEW POSITION

(Continued from page 415)

it is gratifying to me to be able to announce Dr. Davis' appointment to that commission.

"Her acceptance of this appointment will free her from responsibility for the details of administration of the fundamental policies which I asked her, as Commissioner of Correction, to work out two years ago.

Dr. Davis, in accepting the new position, said:

"One of the most important functions of the new Parole Commission will be to make the rules and regulations under which prisoners earn their parole. These rules and regulations will materially affect the conduct within the institutions. After serious consideration it has therefore seemed wise that I should myself undertake this work. In doing this I shall be quite as closely connected with the department, although in a different way, as if I remained Commissioner of Correction."

The fund being raised by the Congressional Union to help secure the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment has passed the $100,000 mark, according to the Union's announcement.

WON MORE VOTES THAN ROOSEVELT

(Continued from page 415)

frage in October and November was as follows:

	For.	Against.	Majority.	Per cent. favorable.
New York (one county missing)	544,457	732,770	188,313	42.63
Pennsy. ..	385,348	441,034	55,658	46.63
Mass.	162,615	295,702	133,087	35.48
N. Jersey.	133,201	184,474	51,273	41.93
Totals..	1,225,621	1,653,980	428,361	42.56

The vote for suffrage in these States, compared with the vote for Taft in 1912, is as follows:

	For Suffrage.	For Taft.	Per cent for Suffrage.	Per cent. for Taft.
New York....	544,457 (One county (missing.)	435,428	42.63	28.68
Pennsylvania	385,348	273,305	46.63	22.39
Massachusetts	162,615	155,948	35.48	31.95
New Jersey..	133,201	88,835	41.93	20.54
Totals	1,225,621	973,516	42.56	28.10

The vote for equal suffrage, compared with the vote for Roosevelt in 1912, is as follows:

	For Suffrage.	For Roosevelt.	Per cent. for Suffrage.	Per cent. for Roosevelt.
New York ..	544,457 (One county missing.)	399,021	42.63	24.57
Pennsylvania	385,348	447,426	46.63	36.67
Massachusetts	162,615	142,228	35.48	29.14
New Jersey ..	133,201	145,410	41.93	33.62
Totals	1,225,621	1,125,085	42.56	30.17

Compared with the vote for Wilson in 1912, the vote for suffrage is as follows:

	For Suffrage.	For Wilson.	Per cent. for Suffrage.	Per cent. for Wilson.
New York ..	544,457 (One county missing.)	655,475	42.63	41.28
Pennsylvania.	385,348	305,610	46.63	32.42
Massachusetts	162,615	173,408	35.48	35.53
New Jersey..	133,201	178,289	41.93	41.22
Totals	1,225,621	1,402,791	42.56	37.62

NEW SLOGAN FOR SUFFRAGE WOMEN

Term Suffrage-Americans Accepted by Workers as Compliment Rather than Invective

The antis have just coined a new phrase to hurl at the suffragists. "They are suffrage-Americans," said Mrs. A. J. George in her anti-suffrage speech before the Federal Judiciary Committee.

"It is more than likely that suffragists will pick up this phrase and make a new slogan for their banners out of it," says the bulletin of the Empire State Campaign Committee. "Surely they are suffrage-Americans! What sort of manliness would any male citizen of today show if he were to consider his right to vote a 'secondary question,' as Mrs. George says it is? The more "parlous" the times, the more a great-hearted citizen wants to exercise his suffrage, that symbol of full citizenship signifying his readiness to bear his share of duties and dangers for his country's sake. If the ballot means anything at all, it means to all right-thinking members of a democracy that sober act of moral judgment by which a man records his choice for the welfare of his nation.

"To be among those privileged to decide the country's destinies is the solemn trust of every voter, bestowed upon him as his heritage from freedom-loving ancestors. It is at the same time his voluntary submission to the highest patriotism. To be a suffrage-American means to be a willing servitor of the ideals of complete human freedom. It means to put one's hand on the altar and to swear anew that 'government of the people, for the people, by the people shall not perish from the earth.'

"By all means, suffrage-Americans."

WOMAN MINISTER BERLIN PASTOR

Miss Petzold Said to Be First Woman to Hold Position in Germany

Miss Gertrude von Petzold has been appointed assistant pastor of the American Church in Berlin. She is the first woman in Germany to hold such a position. Miss von Petzold was at one time pastor of the Unitarian Church in Des Moines, Iowa. She has also had charge of two Unitarian congregations in England, at Leicester and Birmingham. She has a degree from Edinburgh University and is described as a beautiful and charming woman.

She is the daughter of a German naval officer, but had lived for eighteen years in England, and said that she regarded herself as English. When the war broke out, her Birmingham congregation sought to have her formally naturalized, but the British Home Office sent her back to Germany, refusing (the English papers say) her request to be allowed to go to the United States instead. Her English congregation on her departure gave her a gold watch and a year's leave of absence.

Miss Von Petzold is said to have been the first woman minister in England, as well as in Germany. Of course, women had been preaching for many years among the Quakers, in the Salvation Army and elsewhere, but they had not had charge of regular churches.

OHIO PROTECTS CORRUPT VOTERS

Two Thousand Men Who Sold Votes Automatically Enfranchised After Five Years

Through lapse of five years, the term for which they were disfranchised, the right of suffrage was automatically restored during December to about 2,000 male residents of Adams County, Ohio, according to calculations by State officials. The development that elections in Adams County for years had been corrupt came in 1910, when wholesale convictions were obtained.

These men who sold their votes now have them again and are no longer in a class with women.

CONVENTION GAVE SPIRIT OF UNION

Appreciative Survey Made of National Convention's Place in Woman's Progress

What the 47th annual convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association stood for was shown with sympathy and insight by Miss Louise Townsend Nicholl, in the New York Evening Post. Her summarization showed the most outstanding single impression of all to be that of a group of peoble people passing on a common cause made sacred by the toil and the shared experiences of several generations.

"The union of generations," wrote Miss Nicholl, "is shown by two, three, sometimes four generations of women seeing each other with new sight and new friendship because they are all working together for what they believe to be good and beautiful and greatly to be desired. Woman suffrage is essentially the movement which brings together instead of splitting apart, which builds up and does not tear down.

"They are all here—the older women who have been friends and comrades and fellow workers for years and years, who have white hair and beautiful faces and a look which sees very far; the young women who are just beginning to learn what real living, real usefulness, real friendship, means; the very young girls who go around with yellow 'Page' ribbons on, carrying messages and wondering if they will ever come to this stolid business of sitting in a certain seat because you live in a certain State, and rising up with dignity to make a motion. There are Western women who breeze in, just the way a Western woman should; there are sweet Southern women who look up demurely from under the traditional poke bonnet; there are very plain women and very dressy women, women who have always worked for a living, and women who have never washed that much talked-of handkerchief. And the best of it is that they see themselves quite frankly, too, and laugh when they are funny. 'It is only gray-haired women like me who can really see what this convention means,' said one woman. 'It means to me just one thing—how women have grown.' She did not elaborate, but she surely meant the way they take and give, the way they appreciate each other, the way they laugh and work, the way they hold out handfuls of experience and good-will to each other, and all go on together towards what is ahead?"

CHILDREN'S BUREAU SHOWS YEAR'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Activity in Child Welfare Productive of Important Results but Staff and Equipment Hampered by Lack of Appropriations

"No one knows how many mothers are at work for gain outside of their homes." The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor brings this out in its third annual report and says that it is impossible to determine the relative importance of the high death rate among babies of working mothers until we know how many mothers there are at work in industry. The report shows that the two items of the inquiry completed during the past year reveal an average infant death rate of 134 out of every 1,000 babies in a steel-making and coal-mining town as against a rate of 84 out of every 1,000 in a residential suburb. The report shows that no deductions can be made about the relation between the general infant mortality rate and industrial employment of women until the facts about the number and proportion of mothers at work contained in the unpublished census returns are made available by tabulation. Such practical results have already followed the inquiry in two communities as the securing of infant-welfare nurses, improving the milk supply, and rousing community interest in kindred activities.

The need for developing standards of rural child welfare, physical standards for children in industry and standards of law for the protection of all children, is the keynote of the report. Three-fifths of the 30,000,000 children in the United States are rural children. The percentage of illiteracy in rural communities, according to the 1910 census, is double that in cities. Where the rural child labor is great, the percentage of child illiteracy is high.

The bureau reports a year of activity dealing with eight different phases of child welfare. It has been studying the social causes of infant mortality, doing constructive work for child hygiene, co-operating in a general test of birth registration, preparing a report on social care of mental defectives and of illegitimate children reviewing the principles of community provision for recreation, compiling laws relating to children, and analyzing the administration of child labor laws and street trade regulations in selected typical States. It has also begun certain experimental activities which will prepare the way for the detailed studies of rural child welfare and the physical effects of child labor which it will undertake at some future time when staff and equipment permit.

If women could vote throughout the country, Congress might be induced to give sufficient "staff and equipment." The appropriations obtained by the present Congress call for only $17,000 more for the children's bureau, although $142,000 is asked for additional clerical force in the State Department and an extra million for the Treasury Department, a large part of which will be spent for salaries of collectors of the income tax.

CONGRESS TAKES TIME FOR PORK

Not Too Busy to Consider Spending Revenue on "Rivers and Harbors"

Despite prospects of a fight in Congress over revenue legislation and the pleas of party leaders for economies, Chairman Sparkman, of the House Rivers and Harbors Committee, is planning to report a general waterways bill, and there was talk last week of the intention of the House Public Buildings Committee, headed by Representative Clark of Florida, to report an omnibus buildings bill. It developed last week when the Rivers and Harbors Committee meets after the holidays to determine its course, there will be up for consideration favorable reports on new projects aggregating $120,000,000. In such a manner has the "pork barrel" already entered the new Congress.

An article by John Callan Laughlin in the Chicago Herald of Dec. 15 throws light on what this expenditure has meant in the past:

"Of $800,000,000 spent by the Federal Government on river and harbor improvements, the greater part has been wasted.

"The above statement is the deliberate judgment of men who have made a careful study of the results of this tremendous expenditure. Looking back over the history of the reckless theft of public moneys that has occurred, one is amazed at the cynical effrontery displayed in the robbery of the people.

"Members of the Senate and House have voted for steals involving millions of dollars in order that they may receive in return the votes of their colleagues for a project in which they are interested.

"Back of the action of these men was the lack of interest shown by the people in the use made of the money they had paid into the national treasury and the demand of local communities for participation in the division of the spoils."

Meanwhile a great many Congressmen are preparing to spend women's taxes wastefully again and at the same time to hide behind the plea that there are too many pressing matters for them to consider the resolution giving women a vote.

SAYS ALL VICIOUS INTERESTS OPPOSE IN SOUTH DAKOTA

Deadwood Editor Tells of Houses of Ill Fame in His Own Town That Line Up Against Equal Suffrage

It is strong language that Mr. E. L. Senn, editor of the Telegram of Deadwood, S. D., uses in speaking of the opposition to equal suffrage in South Dakota, but Mr. Senn speaks of his own town and ought to know whereof he speaks.

A Mrs. Ethel Jacobsen, of Pierre, has for some time stood out as practically the only woman representative of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in South Dakota. Mrs. Jacobsen took exception to a statement by Mr. Senn that the saloons and bawdy houses work against suffrage. In reply Mr. Senn says, editorially, on Dec. 16:

"If Mrs. Jacobsen will come to Deadwood, the writer will have no difficulty in 'showing' her saloonkeepers and bawdy house proprietors who are opposed to equal suffrage. It might not be prudent to now name such, as the writer is not in position to take a forced lay-off as he has had to do before on account of giving publicity to this class of citizens. But so far as the writer's knowledge goes, every saloonkeeper, every whore master, every pimp, every gambler and every prostitute in Deadwood is lined up with Mrs. Jacobsen's organization in opposing suffrage. And there is plenty of evidence that this is the case everywhere.

"To be sure, Mrs. Jacobsen and her associates are not to blame for the fact that these classes take the same view of equal suffrage as the respectable women composing the anti-suffrage organization. But it is their misfortune, and they cannot blame the advocates of suffrage for calling attention to the hostility of these classes, and pointing out why they are hostile.

"The organization referred to should have no difficulty in finding such evidence as Mrs. Jacobsen asks, if it will get reports of the proceedings of any meeting of liquor dealers. And if Mrs. Jacobsen will poll the saloonkeepers of Pierre, or any other city, she will find that they are practically unanimous against suffrage. The reason is plain. They fear the vote of women on the license question more than they do the vote of men. And fearing this, it is a reasonable presumption that they are putting up money to fight the suffragists. It may be that the organization to which Mrs. Jacobsen belongs does not get any such money, or have any connection with these interests. But nevertheless, it will have to bear the opprobium of standing with the liquor and bawdy house interests against the large majority of the nation's best and most gifted women."

CANADIAN WOMEN START CAMPAIGN

Desire Extension of Municipal Vote to Married Women and Parliamentary Vote to All

The Canadian Suffrage Association has undertaken a campaign during the new year to secure the extension of the municipal vote to married women and the parliamentary vote to all women on the same basis that is now extended to men. Government measures granting full suffrage to women are now pending in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Lines of work for further extension have been planned in these directions—soliciting the co-operation of various existing organizations in securing the municipal vote for married women; seeking conferences with the members of the Provincial Legislatures, emphasizing the importance of the referendum for votes for married women; asking each municipal council throughout the Dominion to pass a resolution in favor of the extension of the Parliamentary vote for women and sending a copy of such a resolution to the Provincial members, urging their support of this measure; and the co-operation of suffragists with various "Local Councils of Women" in memorializing the Provincial governments for the extension of the municipal vote to married women and the Parliamentary vote to all women.

The open letter issued by the association says in part:

"In this time of national stress and strain, when the heads of so many homes have enlisted to fight the battles of the Empire and of human freedom, and there are those who are unable to express their opinion through the ballot box, would it not be simple justice if the wives and mothers left behind would vote on behalf of those who have gone to the front?

"Now is the time to push for this reform. Women have shown what magnificent patriotic service they can render. Why should they longer be deprived of the privilege of still further serving their country through the power of the ballot?"

I believe the work for equal suffrage to be a Christian work, and I try to aid it because I am a Christian minister. I always enjoy reminding people that the first woman's rights convention in this country was held in a Methodist church.—Bishop John W. Hamilton.

The influence of equal suffrage has been rather against the milliners and dressmakers; there is not so much time for criticising one's neighbor's bonnet and cloak. Gossip cannot be cured in any way so well as by taking an interest in public affairs.—Hon. Hugh H. Lusk, ex-member New Zealand Parliament.

In consequence of woman suffrage, our elections are more orderly and fair, a higher class of officers are chosen, and we have cleaner and stronger city governments.—Chief Justice W. A. Johnston of Kansas.

EASY DIVORCE IN THE WRONG STATE

The Philadelphia Press has just called attention to its "easy divorce law" passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1913 as one that "would attract people seeking divorce to Pennsylvania rather than to Nevada if its peculiar merits were generally known." The validity of the law is now being contested in the courts. But it does not alter the fact that the law was passed. If this had happened in a suffrage State, it would have been laid up to the votes of women, even if the women had not voted for members of the Legislature.

We used to ask for suffrage because women needed it as a means to larger opportunities. But the aspect of the woman question has changed. Women are now saying, as in the days of the war, "The country needs us."—Mary A. Livermore.

WOMEN ASK FOR SUFFRAGE PLANK

Telling Appeal Made for Republican Action at Chicago Convention Next June

The Republican national committee, which met in Washington during the national suffrage convention, was asked to use its influence for a suffrage plank in the Republican platform to be drawn up at the Republican convention in Chicago next June. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, who spoke for the National American Woman Suffrage Association, were greeted with prolonged applause as they stepped on the platform.

"We hope the time has come for the Republican party to realize that 'its rights are our rights,' said Dr. Shaw, "and as the leader of the National American Association, I have come to ask you gentlemen, who are the leaders of your party, to make the suffrage question a national issue, and insert it in your party platform, so that we may obtain a constitutional amendment giving us the right to vote."

Mrs. Miller appealed to the committee to consider the question of woman suffrage as "a great ethical issue which will adjust the individual, male or female, to the State."

After Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Miller were heard, a hearing was given the "antis," who were represented by Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge and Mrs. A. J. George.

While the two envoys of the Congressional Union for Women Suffrage were speaking, mention was made of the fact that the House had refused to allow the envoys to speak from the floor of the House. When the speakers had finished, Chairman Charles D. Hilles said, "We all know now that the House of Representatives does not know a good thing when they see it."

The Republican national convention will be held in Chicago June 7.

ANARCHIST GIVES ANTI ARGUMENTS

Emma Goldman Presents Time-Worn Case of Sister Organization

". . . It is truly a bitter, tiresome farce to witness the foolish women of many States clamoring for the vote as the key to freedom and political purity, as the safe and sane means of education as—why enumerate all the benefits they are going to derive from the vote? The wise exploiters of the mob, the grafters and bosses, wisely realize that there shall accrue still greater profits from politics, with women voting. They are aware that woman suffrage will mean the increase in power of the political machine, an increase in graft, a greater and more fertile field of exploitation, and a wider possibility of meddling and 'regulating' morals and customs."

This sounds like a quotation from an anti-suffrage paper, as indeed it is; but it is not from the Woman's Protest, or the Remonstrance, or even the Reply. It is from the November issue of the anarchist magazine, Mother Earth, edited by Emma Goldman.

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL AND SUFFRAGE NEWS

FOUNDED BY
LUCY STONE and HENRY B. BLACKWELL

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1916

A HAPPY NEW YEAR.

A Happy New Year to all the friends of equal rights!

In view of the terrible conditions that prevail throughout a large part of the world today, the wish may seem like a mockery. Some of us have had running through our minds during this holiday season the opening lines of Emily Pfeiffer's "Hymn to the Dark Christmas of 1874," written by a poet long since dead, the English wife of a German husband:

Lift up the hymn once more in this sad Yule-tide,
Lift up the hymn!
The day is darker than any since Jesus died,
And as cold as dim.

But those who are working to make the world better have a right to wish each other a Happy New Year, and to join in the closing verses of that great poem:

Lift up the hymn once more in this sad Yule-tide,
Lift up the hymn!
The night may be darker than any since Jesus died,
And as cold as dim;
But the dawn is breaking, and after the dawn the day,
And they one and both
Are made to our need—the day for our work and our play,
The night for our growth.
Lift we the carol on high as with new-blown breath
From the glimmering earth,
That all who were wailing of sorrow, of sin and of death,
May sing with us of birth!

To us who believe that the world would have been spared the horrors now devastating it, if women had had their rightful share in government, there is reason to rejoice that we have put in our time and strength for something so thoroughly well worth while as the equal suffrage cause. Let us make a New Year resolution to work harder for it than ever during the coming year! A. S. B.

THE YEAR'S GAINS

The year 1915 has seen full suffrage granted to women in Denmark and Iceland, municipal suffrage in South Africa, and an extension of local suffrage in a number of cities, ranging from St. John, N. B., to Fellsmere, Fla. It has seen majority votes for constitutional amendments extending full suffrage to women given by both Houses of the Legislature in nine States. It has seen the first great breach made in the opposition in the East by the huge minority votes cast for equal suffrage in the four campaign States of this year—544,457 in New York (with Oneida County still to hear from), 385,348 in Pennsylvania, 133,282 in New Jersey, 162,615 in Massachusetts.

It has seen 250,000 women cast their ballots in Chicago, proving that women can vote in great numbers without the least harm to their homes, and proving also that the net result is good in a big and cosmopolitan city, as well as in "sparsely-settled Western States." More converts to suffrage have unquestionably been made in 1915 than in any previous year. Last, but not least, the National Suffrage Association has acquired as its president the one woman whom its members would have chosen if they could have had their pick out of the whole world, as the general best qualified to lead them to victory. Now it is our business to stand solidly behind her during the coming year, and to strengthen her hands in every possible way.

A. S. B.

MRS. CATT'S COUNSEL

The New Year is the time for good resolutions. Mrs. Catt gave the suffragists several pieces of good advice during the National Convention, and all should take these to heart and follow them. She urged the women to sink all small differences, and get toegether.

"If we are Christians, let us call upon our Christianity," she said. "If we are Jews, let us likewise go to our religion. Some of the best Christians I have ever known were Jews. Whatever our creed, let us call upon those psychological sources of strength upon which we can draw, in order to enable us to get together. Let us try to be impersonal. I think that by nature I am rather an impersonal person; I never hate anybody at first sight; and I will do my best to cultivate that spirit in the work. Let us try to regard ourselves as if we were all of us little tin soldiers before our great cause."

Mrs. Catt said that the watchword of the year ought to be organization. "Organization has been my hobby for the last hundred years," she added. Whether for Congressional or State work, the only solid foundation is organization; and if you have in your State a thorough and far-reaching organization, you can switch it at short notice to any piece of work, State or Federal, that needs to be done.

Mrs. Catt also advised us to look for women who have political talent. "We who have come down from the last generation are reformers. That is why we are suffragists," she said. "But reformers are usually very poor politicians. We need today the political mind, the gift for organizing in detail. We need the organized, disciplined, pigeon-hole mind.

"Our greatest lack has been the lack of leadership. Perhaps it is true, as Havelock Ellis says, that women are more on a smooth and level average than men. We have not many of what the Chinese call 'the Man Mountain.' Then let us strengthen our weakness by careful specialization. Find out what you can do best, and improve your gift to the top notch. Let us put out of our lives all the non-essentials, all the trivialities, and devote ourselves first and foremost to this great cause."

Mrs. Catt also advised the women to keep their plans to themselves, and not let them come to the knowledge of the enemy. "Suffragists are often very leaky," she said. "They will actually talk as they go down in the elevator about the plan of campaign that has been adopted at their meeting!"

The editor of The Journal would remind the suffragists of all the States that the opponents of suffrage read this paper with a lynx eye, in order to find out what is going on in the way of suffrage work, and to counteract it, if possible. Do not send us for publication any news that you are not perfectly willing to have the enemy know.

After her election to the presidency Mrs. Catt was called upon for a speech. She quoted someone who had said, in accepting an office: "I am healthy, I am energetic, and I will do my best." Mrs. Catt said: "I am not healthy, and I am tired from two years' hard work in the New York campaign, but I will do my best. When I came here I had no more idea of taking the national presidency than I had of going to Kamchatka. I am an unwilling victim, and you all know it. I have a right to ask that if you are dissatisfied with anything about my administration, you will bring it to me instead of passing it along in conversation to others. I come to my task in an appalling state of unpreparedness, and you must all give me your help.

"Let us make our slogan for the coming year, 'Get Together.' Let us work harder this year than ever before. Let each one find a hundred women who have never worked before, and get them to work with all their might.

"I could not be otherwise than deeply touched by the confidence that you have placed in me. I will do my best not to disappoint you."

Let us all do our best not to disappoint Mrs. Catt!

A. S. B.

WHERE REFORM BEGINS

We resume our review of "The Case Against Woman Suffrage," by George R. Conroy:

Mr. Conroy says: "True reform begins in the cradle, the nursery, the school, the church, around the family fireside." Doubtless; but a man does not, because he has a vote, lose his influence with his pupils if he is principal of a school, or with his parishioners or fellow members if he is a pastor or a church member, or with his children around the family hearth. They all respect him more and not less, because he is recognized as worthy of having his opinion counted on election day. Where women have the ballot, it brings them increased respect and influence in the family circle, as well as outside it.

Mr. Conroy says: "The ballot is not a panacea." Arnica is not a panacea; but that is no reason why women should not be allowed to use it for a bruise.

Mr. Conroy says: "It (the ballot) is merely an instrument of convenience." A fork is merely an instrument of convenience. Does it follow that men may eat with forks but women must eat with their fingers, because men and women "are essentially different and cannot be compared"?

A. S. B.

MOULDING PUBLIC OPINION

Mr. Conroy says: "Women react upon government just in proportion as they are alert, intelligent, well informed and public-spirited, through the creation of an intelligent public opinion." A woman who is neither well intelligent public opinion." A woman who is neither well informed nor public-spirited may "react upon government" more powerfully than a thousand women who are both well informed and public-spirited, if she happens to be the wife, daughter or mistress of an influential public man. History is full of such instances.

Mr. Conroy says: "Legislation is merely crystallized public opinion. And in the creation of such public opinion women now have tremendous influence." He claims that they would have less if they voted. On the contrary, women so long as they have no votes are at a disadvantage in the matter of influencing public opinion, in two ways.

In the first place, they are less likely to inform themselves upon public questions, and so to form an opinion and be prepared to influence the opinion of others. Those 516 ministers and editors in the suffrage States who replied favorably to Julia Ward Howe's questionnaire were practically unanimous in saying that the ballot had led women to take a more intelligent interest in public affairs. A leading Denver bookseller says that he sold more books on political economy during the first eight months after women got the suffrage than he had sold in fifteen years before. The papers report that the Chicago public library has had to set apart a special reading room for works bearing on good government, because so many women come to read up on such subjects since they got the municipal vote.

Professor Harry E. Kelley, formerly of the Iowa State University, went to Denver to practice law. He was opposed to suffrage. After some years he wrote to State Senator A. H. Galé of Iowa that his observations had made him a convert. He said: "The great value in woman suffrage consists in this, that it gives dynamic force to a fresh and vital interest in the State. It gives us an increased breadth of public interest in social welfare. Neither has woman suffrage rendered politics attractive to women as a vocation, nor has it had any other effect on their character than to widen their intellectual horizon." (More Testimony from Colorado, pages 1 and 2).

The Hon. W. E. Mullen, attorney general of Wyoming, writes in a letter to A. C. Thomas of Jefferson, Oregon, that he was opposed to equal suffrage when he went to Wyoming, but has been converted. He adds: "It stimulates interest and study on the part of women in public affairs. Questions of public interest are discussed in the home; more papers and magazines are read, and the interests of the State and the home are promoted. As the mother, sister or teacher of young boys, the influence of woman in the creation of wholesome ideals of citizenship is very great. The more she knows about the obligations of citizenship, the more she is able to teach the boys." (Testimony from Wyoming, pages 1 and 2.)

"Since women became voters, interest in all public questions has increased almost beyond belief," writes V. C. Hicks, clinical psychologist of the Oakland (Cal.) public schools, in the New York Survey of October 23, 1915.

"Women are more interested in public affairs than they used to be, and politicians deal more earnestly with home and social questions," says Lady Holder, wife of Sir Frederick Holder, K. C. M. G., Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia (New York Independent, June 9, 1904).

Testimony along this line might be multiplied indefinitely, but it is hardly necessary. Women opposed to suffrage often say frankly that one of their reasons for objecting is that if they had the ballot they should feel it their duty to inform themselves, and they do not want to take the trouble. Such a woman would make a valuable voter.

A. S. B.

A SECOND DISADVANTAGE

In the second place, when women have an opinion, their opinion is less respected because they have no vote. Raymond Robins of Chicago says that in the days before Illinois women got the ballot he once remonstrated with a legislator from his ward who had voted against a good measure.

"I didn't know you were interested in that bill," said the man, apologetically.

(Continued on page 6.)

SUFFRAGE WORK IN THE STATES

FLORIDA

The second annual convention of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association will be held in Miami January 11, 12 and 13. Miami has two strong suffrage leagues and the men and women of these societies will heartily co-operate in preparing for an enthusiastic and successful convention.

The president, Rev. Mary A. Safford, of Orlando, says: "Effective work throughout the State has been done during the last year and our organization is growing wonderfully as indicated by the enthusiastic endorsement given to it at the recent meeting of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs.

"Let us meet at Miami to plan for increased activity along the most effective lines of endeavor and thus make 'Florida First' for equal suffrage among the Southern States."

NEW YORK

Mrs. Norman De R. Whitehouse was elected chairman of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party at a special meeting last week of the Board of Directors at the New York Headquarters.

Mrs. Whitehouse succeeds Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who resigned to accept the presidency of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Mrs. Catt's resignation from the chairmanship of the recently formed New York State Woman Suffrage Party was accepted by the Board with great reluctance, but in a spirit of loyalty to the general cause of woman suffrage. Mrs. Catt has consented to become one of the four directors of the New York State Party.

The entire board of the State Woman Suffrage Party now reads: Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, chairman; Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, first vice-chairman; Mrs. Raymond Brown, second vice-chairman; Mrs. Henry White Cannon of Delaware County, third vice-chairman; Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid of New York City, treasurer; Mrs. Michael Van Beuren, recording secretary and Miss Alice Morgan Wright, corresponding secretary. The four directors are Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Arthur Livermore of Yonkers; Miss Harriet May Mills of Syracuse; Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey of Buffalo.

Mrs. Catt says of her successor: "Mrs. Whitehouse succeeded in gaining with originality, good sense and good taste the recognition for her cause which has sometimes been brought about by aggressive measures. She never once lost her sane balance through all the heat of the struggle just completed. She seldom antagonized, never alienated, but constantly invented new ways to keep in good humor the vast watching crowds of indifferent spectators who followed the suffrage struggle. What such finesse and adroitness did in the way of winning converts can scarcely be measured."

Miss Mary Garrett Hay is expected to keep her position as political leader for Greater New York City.

Suffragists of Rochester, N. Y., did a bit of public service work recently in agitating and investigating the subject of public comfort stations until the city fathers agreed to respond to the needs of the city. After gathering concrete evidence from proprietors of hotels and theatres, the investigators, Dr. Lillian Daily and Mrs. Florence Cross Kitchelt, submitted their findings in a letter to the mayor and the newspapers. Ten days later the Rochester Herald announced that the city engineer was searching for locations for at least two new comfort stations, and that temporary stations would be ready in all probability within a month.

KENTUCKY

A petition to the Legislature to submit to the voters of Kentucky the suffrage amendment is being circulated by the Kentucky Equal Rights Association. All suffrage workers in the State are urged to help circulate these petitions. The signers may be either men or women but they must be twenty-one years old. "They do not need to believe in suffrage," says Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, campaign chairman, "but merely in democracy, that a question vitally affecting one-half of the people of Kentucky, the women, should be submitted to the voters when a reasonable per cent. of those women ask for submission."

INDIANA

The Ft. Wayne League will give a luncheon of two hundred covers in the ballroom of the Anthony Hotel on Jan. 8. Miss Linda McKinnie has charge of the arrangements. The speaker will be Miss Lutie Stearns of Wisconsin.

The Delphi League will give a series of suffrage teas this winter, the first of which was given recently in Library Hall.

The women of Washington township, Allen County, have a farm women's club, whose purpose is to bring about a community feeling among the women of the township in order that they may help each other in solving the problems which confront them and that they may make their community, through co-operation, a better one in which to live. Some of these women have large gardens under their supervision, some of them whole farms. The subjects discussed range from how to make the best pumpkin pie to soil cultivation, higher education for women and kindred subjects. Its officers are: President, Mrs. Emma Snyder; vice-president, Mrs. Young; secretary, Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson; treasurer, Mrs. John Oswald.

MICHIGAN

Equal suffrage was endorsed by the Michigan Federation of Gleaners at its recent meeting at Port Huron.

A just man ought to accord to every other human being, even to his own wife, the rights which he demands for himself.—Hon. William Dudley Foulke.

PENNSYLVANIA

One of the most encouraging meetings ever held in Lancaster County was the suffrage conference Dec. 18. Delegates from every part of Lancaster County were present, men as well as women, and decision was reached to begin another campaign at once. Mrs. F. P. Griest, in explaining the amendment vote, declared the suffrage amendment polled as many votes as any average candidate, showing those who did vote for it gave the matter close consideration. The association indorsed the movement for the organization of a men's league to give the suffrage cause active assistance.

Beginning with the new year, a series of conferences with workers will be held in various sections of the county.

With the reorganization of the Woman's Suffrage Party of Washington County at the annual meeting last week, the work leading up to the next vote on a constitutional amendment officially began. The meeting was held at LeMoyne House, and was the most enthusiastic session ever held by the county organization.

The officers were re-elected with the exception of the secretary. Miss Mary Lockhart was chosen to succeed Miss Mary McKeen.

The other county officers are: Chairman, Mrs. Edwin Linton, Washington; first vice-president, Miss Alice Jones, Washington; second vice-president, Mrs. H. N. Sutton, Monongahela; third vice-president, Miss Sue Johns, McDonald; fourth vice-president, Mrs. John Colbin, Washington; treasurer, Miss Rachel Warrick, Washington. It was decided to name three vice-presidents in addition to the four there are at present, but these have not yet been elected.

Miss Rachel Warrick, the treasurer, reported that $2,195.15 had been subscribed to the suffrage cause in this county.

VERMONT

With the endorsement of equal suffrage by the State Grange at its annual meeting in Burlington recently, a resolution was adopted asking the Vermont Senators and Representatives in Congress to support the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the federal constitution granting suffrage to women, and asking the Republican and Democratic parties to declare in favor of woman suffrage in their platforms and support legislation to that end.

GEORGIA

The Suffrage School of the Atlanta Equal Suffrage Association will hold its first mid-winter session with several speakers of prominence on the program, Jan. 5. Mrs. Amelia B. Woodall will give an account of the national convention work at this meeting.

The Georgia Young People's Association gave a beautiful Christmas tree to some two dozen destitute children on Christmas Eve. Miss Ruth Bucholtz, president of this association, and her able corps of assistants, gathered from other suffrage organizations, made the tree a splendid success. The funds used for this entertainment were those awarded as a prize to the Young People's Auto in the big suffrage parade held in Atlanta in November. The children for whom the tree was given were selected from among the very poorest element of the city and from that class not usually reached by organized charities.

The Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia will hold a central meeting of the Fulton and de Kalb Counties Branch on Jan. 4. The active State work planned by the organizer, Miss Aurelia Roach, will begin immediately thereafter and will continue throughout the winter.

The "specialization of industry" has no bearing on the suffrage question. Voting is not an industry.

IOWA WORKERS RESOLVE BIG VICTORY IN NEW YEAR

"The first half of the new year is the most important and crucial period of time that has ever come to the women of Iowa," says Mrs. Hiram K. Evans, auditor of the State Suffrage Association, and chairman of Wayne County. "How to bring this fact forcibly and earnestly to the ear of every woman in the State is our supreme task."

Mrs. Evans has expressed the suffrage situation in a nutshell. If there is one New Year resolution that is being made, and which takes precedence over all else, it is the resolution made by all Iowa suffragists: Resolved, That I will do all in my power to make a big suffrage victory for Iowa possible.

The developments in the suffrage situation have been most encouraging through the past months, and on this foundation will be built the activities of the last five months of the campaign. In the opinion of the Waterloo Courier, one of the most encouraging developments in connection with the suffrage campaign in Iowa is the alignment of Bishop Austin M. Dowling on the side of votes for women. Bishop Dowling is bishop of the Des Moines Diocese of the Catholic church, and a man of much influence both in his church and in the State. There has been considerable editorial comment in all parts of the State regarding his firm stand for equal suffrage, and in no instance has there been any word but of commendation.

Something of the attitude of the Iowa press toward suffrage may be gained from the following paragraph from the Dubuque Times-Journal, which is being widely quoted: "Equal suffrage is a debatable question, and Iowans who are honestly opposed to the movement should be given the right of expression, but we want no advice from paid representatives of the interests opposed to equal suffrage."

There will be a two-days' session of the State board and the organizers the second week in January. Miss Helen M. Eacker of Kansas has been added to the organizers. Miss Eacker has had considerable experience in suffrage campaigning. Miss Alice B. Curtis has arrived in Des Moines and is becoming thoroughly familiar with the situation before taking the field. Miss Curtis is a native Iowan, though she gained her suffrage experience in other States. For several years Miss Curtis was executive secretary for the Wisconsin State Association, and she comes to Iowa through the Wisconsin suffragists, who are giving the services of Miss Curtis to Iowa for a month.

Miss Elizabeth Perkins, State board member and suffrage speaker, starts her 1916 suffrage activities today with an address at Sioux City. The day is under the auspices of the Women's Club of Sioux City, of which Mrs. Milton Perry Smith is president, and aside from the address, which is the feature of the afternoon, there is a brilliant social side. Miss Perkins has many speaking dates ahead.

In response to a request from Mrs. James A. Devitt of Oskaloosa, who made one of the principal addresses before the Iowa State Grangers the Grange endorsed the movement for woman suffrage.

Morningside College, at Sioux City, has a thriving equal suffrage club. Previous to their Christmas vacation the members pledged themselves to promote the work in their home towns during the Christmas holidays. Miss Ruth Gillies is the president of the club and she saw that each girl was well fortified with suffrage literature when she started for her home town.

The suffragists of Sac City held a meeting in the Christian Church, at which a number of the prominent local men spoke. The Seymour Political Equality Club also has been having some effective meetings.

Since it was announced that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was elected president of the National Association, the press in all parts of the State have carried stories of how much this would mean to Iowa and its present campaign. Mrs. Catt began her suffrage career some years ago in Iowa, and her progress has been watched with interest. She is a much loved Iowan.

Mrs. Frank Dodson, former recorder of Polk County and for the past five months campaign manager for the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, has declined to take the office of State field secretary. She will remain in suffrage work, however, though having no official connection with the State organization.

College women are learning that the enemy of society is not the woman in Colorado who votes, but the woman in New York who plays bridge. It is not the woman who takes an intelligent interest in the life of which she is a part, but the woman who sits by the window and watches the callers of her neighbors across the way. Not the woman who works in the shops or the factory, but the woman whose days are passed at the bargain counter. Not the woman who earns money, but the woman who wastes it, because she has never learned its value.—Prof. Lucy M. Salmon.

Woman suffrage has resulted in nothing that is objectionable and in much that is advantageous.—U. S. Teller of Colorado.

(Continued from page 4.)

"But why didn't you vote for it on its own merits?" said Mr. Robins.

"I didn't know anything about its merits."

"Why, they were fully explained by Jane Addams and others at the hearing."

"Well, the fact is," acknowledged the solon, "I didn't go to the hearing. The speakers were only a parcel of women!"

Legislators in Illinois do not talk in that tone about women now. From Jane Addams down, those Illinois women who commanded the most personal respect before they had the ballot testify that they receive much more respect today.

"Legislators and men in general regard women's opinions with more respect. The politicians all over the State pay much more attention to what the women want," writes Mrs. Benjamin E. Page of Highland Park, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Illinois State Federation of Women's Clubs (Woman's Journal, June 6, 1914).

Margaret Long, daughter of Ex-Secretary of the Navy Long, has lived for years in Denver. She says in a letter to Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston: "It seems to me impossible that anyone can live in Colorado long enough to get into touch with the life here, and not realize that women count for more in all the affairs of this State than they do where they have not the power the suffrage gives. More attention is paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment."

Mrs. K. A. Sheppard, president of the New Zealand Council of Women, says: "Since women have become electors, their views have become important and command respect. Men listen to and are influenced by the opinions of women to a far greater degree than was the case formerly." (The Outlook, April 3, 1909.)

Ex-Premier Alfred Deakin of the Commonwealth of Australia, says, in the same issue of The Outlook: "There is now a closer attention paid in Parliament to matters especially affecting the (feminine) sex or interesting them."

On this point also, testimony could be multiplied almost indefinitely.

A. S. B.

BALLOTS AND BULLETS

Mr. Conroy says: "Woman suffrage violates the basic principle of all government—that the electorate must possess the inherent power to execute its sovereign will expressed in legislation. Our real protection lies not in the law but in the strong right arm and in the gun and club of the policeman."

If no one was allowed to vote except men able to perform military and police duty, women might consistently be debarred on this ground. But, so long as the old, the infirm, the halt, the lame and the blind among men are freely admitted to the ballot box, some better reason must be found for excluding women than the fact that they do not serve as soldiers or police.

Military men are apt to make light of this particular argument. General Irving Hale, of Denver, calls it "too ridiculous for serious comment." He adds: "If all the men who cannot or do not fight should be disfranchised, the polls would be as lonesome as a sea-bathing resort in December."

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson says: "It appears by the record of United States Military Statistics that out of the men examined for military duty during the Civil War, of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found unfit; of preachers, 974; of physicians, 680; of lawyers, 544. Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they cannot fight, although not one in twenty of their own number is fit for military duty, if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage, only about one in four could himself carry a musket; while, of the lawyers who fill Congress, the majority could not be defenders of their country, but could only be defended." (Common Sense About Women, page 365.)

Col. Higginson points out, also, that these statistics do not apply to the whole male population, but only to those who were examined for military service; that is, to men of fighting age; so that the actual proportion physically unfit must be considerably larger.

No State in the Union recognizes any connection between the right to vote and the power to bear arms. A man becomes liable to military service at eighteen, but he is not allowed to vote till he is twenty-one. He ceases to be liable to military service at forty-five, but he may go on voting till he is one hundred.

As the late William I. Bowditch said: "The best fighters, the young men between eighteen and twenty-one, are not allowed to vote, while the wisest voters, those over forty-five, are not required to fight."

Non-combatants are already admitted to the ballot box by millions. There is no certainty at any election that the majority of legal voters represents the majority of possible fighters.

Even Mr. Taft, in his recent article against woman suffrage in the Saturday Evening Post, admits the emptiness of this particular objection and points out that if it were sound it would disfranchise all the men who are incapable of military service.

As for police duty, men are not compelled to serve in the police. Out of those who volunteer, and who come up to certain required standards of height and weight, a sufficient number are hired; and they are paid out of tax money levied impartially on the property of men and women. Women contribute to the police protection of the country in exactly the same way that the majority of men do, i. e., they help to pay for it.

Until comparatively recent years, policemen in England were not allowed to vote; and in some countries the man who becomes a soldier is thereby disfranchised.

Either the power to do military and police duty is a necessary qualification for suffrage, or it is not. If it is, the men who lack it ought to be excluded. If it is not, the lack of it is no reason for excluding women. There is no escape from this conclusion.

From the American point of view, it is well to keep fighting and voting as separate as possible. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote during the Hayes-Tilden controversy:

To cut men's throats to help them count their votes
Is asinine—nay, worse, ascidian folly.
Blindness like that would scare the mole and bat,
And make the liveliest monkey melancholy.
I say once more, as I have said before,
If voting for our Tildens and our Hayeses
Means only fight, then, Liberty, good night!
Pack up your ballot box and go to blazes!

A. S. B.

WOMAN'S PART IN WAR

Mr. Conroy says: "The woman's ballot would be a blank cartridge ballot." To a large extent the cartridges for the present war are being made by women, especially in Germany. The actual military value of its women to any warring nation is very great; and the present conflict is bringing out this fact more clearly than ever before. Germany has 70,000 women hard at work turning out munitions, and England is using an increasing number of women for the same work. If any nation involved in war were to have all its women suddenly swept off by some mysterious pestilence, it would have to withdraw a large number of its fighting men from the front to make ammunition, to get in the harvests, to care for the children and for the sick and wounded, and to do all the other absolutely necessary work that is now carried on by the women while their men are in the field.

Not only are women making a large part of the munitions for this war, but they furnish the most fundamental and indispensable munition for all wars— the men.

Lucy Stone said: "Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. Later she does picket duty over his cradle, and for years she is his quartermaster and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to a man, shall he say to his mother, 'If you want to vote, you must first go and kill somebody?' It is a coward's argument!"

Mrs. Z. G. Wallace, of Indiana—a distinguished suffragist in her day—from whom Gen. Lew Wallace drew the portrait of the noble mother in "Ben Hur," said: "If women do not fight, they give to the State all its soldiers." This ought in all fairness to be taken as an offset for the military service that women do not render. As Lady Henry Somerset puts it, "She who bears armies does not need to bear arms."

And, since women furnish all the men for war, and bear their share of the terrible burdens and sufferings of war, it is only the most elementary justice that they should have a voice in choosing the rulers who make the fateful decision whether a country shall enter upon war.

It is not desirable that women should fight, but in case of extreme need they can and do. It was shown in the Boer War, and in Cuba; it was shown among the early American settlers in their conflicts with the Indians; and it is being shown today by the many women reported to be serving with the armies of Russia and Serbia. Ex-Secretary of the Navy Long said: "Imagine arguing with a sober face against a man whose brains are reduced to such a minimum that he solemnly says a woman should not vote because she cannot fight! In the first place, she can fight: in the second, men are largely exempt from military service; and, finally, there is not the remotest relation between firing a musket and casting a ballot."

As for the fear that laws would not be enforced if women voted, women now have the ballot in many different parts of the world, and the laws are as well enforced in the countries where women vote as in those where they do not.

Next week we shall take up Mr. Conroy's argument about "Suffrage, Feminism and Socialism."

A. S. B.

SHORT CUTS TO SUFFRAGE

A new and interesting point for the nation-wide suffrage amendment was made by a Southern woman at one of the recent Congressional hearings.

Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, president of the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association, spoke with others in behalf of the petition to Congress to submit a nation-wide woman suffrage amendment to the State Legislatures. She was asked whether she thought it would be right for a State Legislature to decide the question on its own responsibility, without referring it to the voters. She answered:

"The Alabama suffragists asked the Alabama Legislature to submit the question to the voters of the State, but our Legislature refused. It preferred to decide the matter itself. Therefore we are now asking Congress to refer the question to the Legislature of Alabama and those of all the other States for their decision."

The opponents of equal suffrage reproach its advocates with seeking a "short cut" to carry it; but they themselves have always sought the shortest cut to kill it. Whenever a State Legislature is asked to submit a constitutional amendment to the voters, the anti-suffragists oppose submission, and beg the Legislature to kill the measure on its own responsibility. New York is the sole exception. For a long series of years, the antis in that State opposed submission; but after all the political parties had declared for submission, the antis withdrew their objection, finding that they could no longer make it effective. In New Jersey and Pennsylvaia, even after all the political parties had pledged themselves to submit a suffrage amendment, the anti-suffrage organizations implored the legislators to throw overboard the party platforms on which they had been elected, and to refuse to let the voters pass upon the question.

The opponents of equal rights often abuse the Illinois Legislature for granting women presidential and muncipal suffrage on its own responsibility, without referring it to the voters. They even insinuate that the suffragists wanted to avoid a popular vote. For twenty years the Illinois suffragists had been urging the submission of a constitutional amendment, and the antis had been opposing submission, and begging the Legislature to decide the question adversely by its own act. As a rule, opponents do not even hint a doubt of the Legislature's moral right to decide the matter on its own responsibility until the Legislature begins to show leanings toward suffrage.

They are just as ready to deny the people's right to decide, when the popular vote is favorable. When Wyoming came in as a State, after twenty years' experience of woman suffrage as a Territory, its people, men and women, elected a constitutional convention which drew up a constitution for the new State, and included woman suffrage in it by an almost unanimous vote. This constitution was submitted to the voters of Wyoming, men and women, and was approved by a large majority. It was then submitted to Congress for ratification. The opponents of suffrage in Congress first tried to have Congress strike out the woman suffrage clause bodily—preferring as usual, the shortest cut. Failing in this, they then tried to have the suffrage clause submitted again to the voters of Wyoming, not with the constitution as a whole, but separately. And how submitted? To a vote of the women alone, to make quite sure that a majority of the women really wanted it? By no means, but to a vote of the men alone, the women to be allowed no say in the matter. And this precious proposal came very near carrying Congress. There was not one word of protest against it from Dr. Lyman Abbott, who is now so insistent that the women ought to be allowed to vote on the question, nor from any of the statesmen who are at present declaring that each part of the country ought to decide the matter for itself.

To sum up—the people who are bent on blocking equal suffrage always seek the shortest and easiest way to their end. With what consistency can they blame the suffragists for doing the same?

A. S. B.

When an elector's mind is made up, there is less difficulty in expressing it through the ballot box than in matching a ribbon; and the one act is not considered more unfeminine than the other.—Lady Holder, wife of the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia.

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HEARING BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE

Mrs. Catt Makes Telling Comparison Between Easy Path to Franchise for Men and Hard Road for Women—Speakers Ask Submission of Federal Amendment

A staggering comparison between the gift of the ballot to the men of the United States and the immense campaigns which the women of the nation are compelled to wage to show that they want to vote was made by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt at the hearing before the United States Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage Dec. 15. "We can carry a referendum in New York," declared Mrs. Catt, "but we believe we have done everything that is needed to be done to show that we want enfranchisement." Each of the speakers asked for the submission of a federal amendment to the State Legislatures.

Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, who spoke from the Southern woman's point of view, was the first speaker.

"It is significant that there has been no referendum on suffrage in the South," she said. "The Legislatures have taken into their own hands the question, and that is all we ask you to do—put it into their hands by submitting the federal amendment." Mrs. Jacobs showed the previous inconsistency of Southern Congressmen who voted against the amendment on State Rights grounds while voting for the prohibition amendment, and she showed that there are four million more white women than Negro women in the South.

Shows Southern Conditions

"A larger number of women of South Carolina are wage earners than in any other State." She said, "The chivalry of the men of the South is no doubt sincere, but they cannot see that the times have changed. The incentive is held out to the Negro men of the South to be educated, to be frugal and to acquire property; but no such incentive is held out to white women. The demand for suffrage is not a sectional one. There is little or no organized opposition to suffrage in any State in the South."

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who presided, then introduced Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, who gave a resumé of the progress of the suffrage movement. Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees told of the work of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for forty-five years for a federal amendment.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the next speaker, said: "Since the last appeal made to your committee, something new has happened in the realm of our activity, and that is the vote in four States on the question." Mrs. Catt said that over a million men had declared their belief in equal suffrage, and then told of the difficulties of State campaigns. She quoted Macaulay: "Half the logic of misgovernment lies in this one sophistical dilemma. If the people are turbulent, they are unfit for liberty; if they are quiet, they do not want liberty."

Turns to History

In the vote this fall, Mrs. Catt said suffragists met the amazing dilemma of men who said they would vote against the amendment because the women of England had been militant, while others held, as did many of the members of Congress, that women had not shown sufficiently that they wanted the ballot. Which should women do? If they were quiet, they did not want it; if they were turbulent, they were said not to deserve it. In turning to history to see what men had done to gain liberty, Mrs. Catt had found the astounding fact that fifteen million of the men over twenty-one were either aliens, men who had been naturalized or whose ancestors had been naturalized, or Negroes. These classes form two-thirds of our electorate. What had they done to win their liberty? Mrs. Catt pointed out that no demand had been made on the part of the Negro for his enfranchisement, and that for 115 years the naturalization law had automatically given citizenship, and with it a vote, to the men who came from foreign lands. No foreigner had been asked whether he wanted the vote or not, or whether he was fit to vote.

No Struggle For Male Suffrage

She then turned to the other one-third of the male voting electorate and showed how the suffrage had been extended to Jews and Catholics by the original thirteen colonies, not because of any great demand, but simply because Great Britain, hoping to gain their favor, had given them suffrage in Canada, a lead which the colonies thought they must follow. She said that the only semblance of a struggle for the extension of suffrage had been on the part of those who did not own land, and even there the demand had been insignificant. In the New York Constitutional Convention of 1821, when the question of eliminating the land qualification came up, some of the delegates asked what demand had been shown on the part of the disqualified men. The reply was that there had been "some meetings." No delegate had either attended or seen a meeting. Yet the qualification was removed.

"Now," said Mrs. Catt, "what have women done to win their liberty?" Taking New York State alone, where women had worked no harder, made no more sacrifices than in many other States, in proportion to the population, she declared that 10,300 meetings had been held in the last six months; that 7,500,000 leaflets had been printed, 3½ per voter, using twenty tons of paper; there had been 720 separate treasuries, with every bookkeeper except two a volunteer; that women had contributed more than $100,000; and that on election day 6,300 women had watched at the polls from six o'clock in the morning until after the vote had been counted; that 2,500 campaign officers had served, every one without pay; and that a series of most unique publicity features had culminated in a parade of 20,000 women in New York City alone.

Too Humiliating a Task

The result of all this effort, as nearly as was known, had been that about 535,000 votes had been cast for the amendment, or 2,000 more than the total vote for suffrage in the nine States where the amendment had won on a popular vote. In Rochester all the men in the almshouse and rescue home, two of them over 90, had been voted against the amendment; in many polling places throughout the entire day not a single man who voted but had had to be assisted. The paupers and the illiterates had generally voted against suffrage. Even with these handicaps, she believed a referendum could be won, but she declared that it had been sufficiently shown that women wanted the vote. The federal way was hard enough, but not so difficult.

Women had campaigned in 24 different languages in New York.

Though a great many of the foreign-born were favorable, certain classes had voted almost solidly against the amendment. "We claim it is too humiliating a task to put upon us," said Mrs. Catt. "We believe we should have the easier method." It was 25 years ago, she said, that she had come before this committee, and ever since then she had been working steadily for suffrage. "No man in this country or any other has given up 25 years of his life to the cause of his enfranchisement," she declared.

Need Ballot For Citizenship

Mrs. Harriet Thompson of Illinois spoke for the working women, and for the teachers. "How can a woman teach citizenship who has not herself the rights of a citizen?" she asked. Mrs. George Bass of Chicago, in speaking for women voters, said:

"We want you to give the ballot to women, not because we believe they will be good citizens, but to assure you that they are good citizens of this country, and they need the ballot in order to express their citizenship to its fullest degree.

"They have done and are doing in every State civic service of inestimable value, but they have done it by slow, toilsome and painful processes. They have had to come for help, not to you nor to such as you, gentlemen of the committee, but to the ward politician and the political boss, to whom they were as nothing because they had no votes.

"They are tired of this method, their dignity as women and their self-respect as citizens revolts from its use. They are doing their full share of the world's work. Give them, then, the necessary weapon which alone can make their work effective. Give it to them because it is simple justice, or give it to them because of a higher selfishness which makes you realize that you need this unused citizenship about you even more than they need the ballot."

Suffrage a National Question

Mrs. Antoinette Funk thanked the committee for its kindness to the Congressional Committee of the National Association. Dr. Shaw closed the hearing by answering the objection that this is not a national question. "That might be true," said Dr. Shaw, "if nothing entered into women's lives of national interest. The women of the United States are affected by the laws of Congress, as are the men." Could there be a year that showed this more forcibly, she asked, than the present one? There was no question that would agitate Congress more than that of preparedness; but when we look across the sea we find no question more essential to the women of foreign countries than that of war or peace. There is not a woman in this country who does not look at her paper each morning to see whether we are nearer the brink. If these things extend to Congress, is it not a question of as vital importance to the women of this country whether we are at war or at peace, as it is to the men? This is equally true of the tariff, of prohibition and of the other great and important issues before Congress. "Constitutionally and ethically," said Dr. Shaw, "women should have something to say."

Copies of the hearing before the Senate committee will be published and will be awaited as a very valuable suffrage document.

UNION PRESENTS CASE FOR ACTION

Women in Washington Appear Before Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage

Representatives of the Congressional Union appeared before the Senate committee on woman suffrage the day following the hearing of the National Suffrage Association, and urged speedy and favorable action on the federal amendment.

Miss Julia Hurlburt of New Jersey told of the difficulties of State campaigns. Mrs. Roach of Louisiana spoke from a Southern woman's point of view. Mrs. Agnes Jenks showed the difficulty of amending many State constitutions. Senator Clapp was paid a warm tribute by Mrs. Alden H. Potter of Minnesota, who said that only one amendment had ever carried in her State because of the constitution's difficult amending clause.

"I might have walked from Boston to Washington," said Mrs. Glendower Evans, "but I took a Pullman car. We will campaign in the States till the end of our lives, if we have to, but we want the short cut—a federal amendment."

"We women who are free in California are pariahs when we cross the Mississippi," said Mrs. Frances Joliffe, who with Mrs. Sara Bard Field spoke as women voters.

"A great movement is growing among the women voters, the end of which cannot be foreseen," said Mrs. Field.

Others who spoke were Mrs. R. H. Ashbaugh of Michigan, Mrs. Cyrus Mead and Mrs. James Rector of Ohio, Mrs. Annie Porritt and Mrs. William Spencer Murray of Connecticut and Mrs. Dana Durand of Minnesota.

Miss Anne Martin of Nevada introduced the speakers, and Senator Sutherland of Utah presided as chairman in the absence of Senator Thomas of Colorado.

The National Woman's Peace Party Convention will be held in Washington January 8-10.

The Peace Party also announces at this time plans for a great Carnegie Hall mass meeting in New York City to be held on the evening of Jan. 5 in conjunction with the Labor Forum. Miss Helen Keller will be the chief speaker.

We men require women's suffrage as much for our own sake as for women's sake.—Israel Zangwill.

WOULD CARRY ON HUSBAND'S PLANS

California Wife Will Be Candidate for His Unexpired Term in State Legislature

Mrs. Florence A. Scott of Selma, Cal., widow of the late L. D. Scott, Assemblyman from the Fiftieth District, will be a candidate for the unexpired term in the lower House of the California Legislature which her husband would have served had he lived, in case another session is called. Mrs. Scott is a Republican.

"If elected, I shall carry out the policies of my husband along Republican lines," said Mrs. Scott.

Confidence in victory for Mrs. Scott was expressed by A. A. Selden, Selma member of the Fresno County Republican Central Committee.

"I saw W. C. Ralston, chairman of the State Republican Committee, and he favored the candidacy of Mrs. Scott," said Selden, according to the Sacramento Bee. "Many others have come out in favor of her candidacy."

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont has brought out the libretto for a suffrage opera. Miss Elsie Maxwell has written the music. The opera, which is called "Melinda and Her Sisters," is a satire on society and will be presented on Feb. 18 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The receipts will be used to further equal suffrage.

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Suffrage Exchange

I AM AN EDUCATED MAN and know suffrage. Am a good writer. My employer will remove me if I write for suffrage, so I want to change occupation. Will some suffragist buy, improve and stock a small farm and sell to me at liberal advance and 8 per cent. interest, nothing down and seven years' time? Then I can and will work, write and speak for suffrage. Will give a good business trade. Address "U," care Woman's Journal. (2)

WORKING WOMEN National Woman's Trade Union League stands for self-government in the workshop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given. LIBE AND LABOR working women's magazine 10c a copy. Mrs. Raymond Robins, President. Headquarters 188 W. Washington St., Chicago. (eow)

HELP US to dispose of our 1000 Suffrage Cook Books. $1.00 per copy. $1.10 prepaid, mailed to any point. Every recipe guaranteed. Equal Fr nchise Federation, 3046 Jenkins Arcade, Pittsburg, Pa (tf)

SITUATIONS.

THOUSANDS MEN AND WOMEN WANTED. U. S. Government Jobs. $75.00 month. Rapid advance to $150 month. Vacations. No layoffs. Short hours. Common education sufficient. "Pull" unnecessary. Write immediately for free list of positions now obtainable. Franklin Institute, Dep't F128, Rochester, N. Y. (2)

(Continued from page 4.)

"But why didn't you vote for it on its own merits?" said Mr. Robins.

"I didn't know anything about its merits."

"Why, they were fully explained by Jane Addams and others at the hearing."

"Well, the fact is," acknowledged the solon, "I didn't go to the hearing. The speakers were only a parcel of women!"

Legislators in Illinois do not talk in that tone about women now. From Jane Addams down, those Illinois women who commanded the most personal respect before they had the ballot testify that they receive much more respect today.

"Legislators and men in general regard women's opinions with more respect. The politicians all over the State pay much more attention to what the women want," writes Mrs. Benjamin E. Page of Highland Park, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Illinois State Federation of Women's Clubs (Woman's Journal, June 6, 1914).

Margaret Long, daughter of Ex-Secretary of the Navy Long, has lived for years in Denver. She says in a letter to Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston: "It seems to me impossible that anyone can live in Colorado long enough to get into touch with the life here, and not realize that women count for more in all the affairs of this State than they do where they have not the power the suffrage gives. More attention is paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment."

Mrs. K. A. Sheppard, president of the New Zealand Council of Women, says: "Since women have become electors, their views have become important and command respect. Men listen to and are influenced by the opinions of women to a far greater degree than was the case formerly." (The Outlook, April 3, 1909.)

Ex-Premier Alfred Deakin of the Commonwealth of Australia, says, in the same issue of The Outlook: "There is now a closer attention paid in Parliament to matters especially affecting the (feminine) sex or interesting them."

On this point also, testimony could be multiplied almost indefinitely.

A. S. B.

BALLOTS AND BULLETS

Mr. Conroy says: "Woman suffrage violates the basic principle of all government—that the electorate must possess the inherent power to execute its sovereign will expressed in legislation. Our real protection lies not in the law but in the strong right arm and in the gun and club of the policeman."

If no one was allowed to vote except men able to perform military and police duty, women might consistently be debarred on this ground. But, so long as the old, the infirm, the halt, the lame and the blind among men are freely admitted to the ballot box, some better reason must be found for excluding women than the fact that they do not serve as soldiers or police.

Military men are apt to make light of this particular argument. General Irving Hale, of Denver, calls it "too ridiculous for serious comment." He adds: "If all the men who cannot or do not fight should be disfranchised, the polls would be as lonesome as a sea-bathing resort in December."

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson says: "It appears by the record of United States Military Statistics that out of the men examined for military duty during the Civil War, of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found unfit; of preachers, 974; of physicians, 680; of lawyers, 544. Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they cannot fight, although not one in twenty of their own number is fit for military duty, if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage, only about one in four could himself carry a musket; while, of the lawyers who fill Congress, the majority could not be defenders of their country, but could only be defended." (Common Sense About Women, page 365.)

Col. Higginson points out, also, that these statistics do not apply to the whole male population, but only to those who were examined for military service; that is, to men of fighting age; so that the actual proportion physically unfit must be considerably larger.

No State in the Union recognizes any connection between the right to vote and the power to bear arms. A man becomes liable to military service at eighteen, but he is not allowed to vote till he is twenty-one. He ceases to be liable to military service at forty-five, but he may go on voting till he is one hundred.

As the late William I. Bowditch said: "The best fighters, the young men between eighteen and twenty-one, are not allowed to vote, while the wisest voters, those over forty-five, are not required to fight."

Non-combatants are already admitted to the ballot box by millions. There is no certainty at any election that the majority of legal voters represents the majority of possible fighters.

Even Mr. Taft, in his recent article against woman suffrage in the Saturday Evening Post, admits the emptiness of this particular objection and points out that if it were sound it would disfranchise all the men who are incapable of military service.

As for police duty, men are not compelled to serve in the police. Out of those who volunteer, and who come up to certain required standards of height and weight, a sufficient number are hired; and they are paid out of tax money levied impartially on the property of men and women. Women contribute to the police protection of the country in exactly the same way that the majority of men do, i. e., they help to pay for it.

Until comparatively recent years, policemen in England were not allowed to vote; and in some countries the man who becomes a soldier is thereby disfranchised.

Either the power to do military and police duty is a necessary qualification for suffrage, or it is not. If it is, the men who lack it ought to be excluded. If it is not, the lack of it is no reason for excluding women. There is no escape from this conclusion.

From the American point of view, it is well to keep fighting and voting as separate as possible. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote during the Hayes-Tilden controversy:

To cut men's throats to help them count their votes
Is asinine—nay, worse, ascidian folly.
Blindness like that would scare the mole and bat,
And make the liveliest monkey melancholy.
I say once more, as I have said before,
If voting for our Tildens and our Hayeses
Means only fight, then, Liberty, good night!
Pack up your ballot box and go to blazes!

A. S. B.

WOMAN'S PART IN WAR

Mr. Conroy says: "The woman's ballot would be a blank cartridge ballot." To a large extent the cartridges for the present war are being made by women, especially in Germany. The actual military value of its women to any warring nation is very great; and the present conflict is bringing out this fact more clearly than ever before. Germany has 70,000 women hard at work turning out munitions, and England is using an increasing number of women for the same work. If any nation involved in war were to have all its women suddenly swept off by some mysterious pestilence, it would have to withdraw a large number of its fighting men from the front to make ammunition, to get in the harvests, to care for the children and for the sick and wounded, and to do all the other absolutely necessary work that is now carried on by the women while their men are in the field.

Not only are women making a large part of the munitions for this war, but they furnish the most fundamental and indispensable munition for all wars— the men.

Lucy Stone said: "Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. Later she does picket duty over his cradle, and for years she is his quartermaster and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to a man, shall he say to his mother, 'If you want to vote, you must first go and kill somebody?' It is a coward's argument!"

Mrs. Z. G. Wallace, of Indiana—a distinguished suffragist in her day—from whom Gen. Lew Wallace drew the portrait of the noble mother in "Ben Hur," said: "If women do not fight, they give to the State all its soldiers." This ought in all fairness to be taken as an offset for the military service that women do not render. As Lady Henry Somerset puts it, "She who bears armies does not need to bear arms."

And, since women furnish all the men for war, and bear their share of the terrible burdens and sufferings of war, it is only the most elementary justice that they should have a voice in choosing the rulers who make the fateful decision whether a country shall enter upon war.

It is not desirable that women should fight, but in case of extreme need they can and do. It was shown in the Boer War, and in Cuba; it was shown among the early American settlers in their conflicts with the Indians; and it is being shown today by the many women reported to be serving with the armies of Russia and Serbia. Ex-Secretary of the Navy Long said: "Imagine arguing with a sober face against a man whose brains are reduced to such a minimum that he solemnly says a woman should not vote because she cannot fight! In the first place, she can fight: in the second, men are largely exempt from military service; and, finally, there is not the remotest relation between firing a musket and casting a ballot."

As for the fear that laws would not be enforced if women voted, women now have the ballot in many different parts of the world, and the laws are as well enforced in the countries where women vote as in those where they do not.

Next week we shall take up Mr. Conroy's argument about "Suffrage, Feminism and Socialism."

A. S. B.

SHORT CUTS TO SUFFRAGE

A new and interesting point for the nation-wide suffrage amendment was made by a Southern woman at one of the recent Congressional hearings.

Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, president of the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association, spoke with others in behalf of the petition to Congress to submit a nation-wide woman suffrage amendment to the State Legislatures. She was asked whether she thought it would be right for a State Legislature to decide the question on its own responsibility, without referring it to the voters. She answered:

"The Alabama suffragists asked the Alabama Legislature to submit the question to the voters of the State, but our Legislature refused. It preferred to decide the matter itself. Therefore we are now asking Congress to refer the question to the Legislature of Alabama and those of all the other States for their decision."

The opponents of equal suffrage reproach its advocates with seeking a "short cut" to carry it; but they themselves have always sought the shortest cut to kill it. Whenever a State Legislature is asked to submit a constitutional amendment to the voters, the anti-suffragists oppose submission, and beg the Legislature to kill the measure on its own responsibility. New York is the sole exception. For a long series of years, the antis in that State opposed submission; but after all the political parties had declared for submission, the antis withdrew their objection, finding that they could no longer make it effective. In New Jersey and Pennsylvaia, even after all the political parties had pledged themselves to submit a suffrage amendment, the anti-suffrage organizations implored the legislators to throw overboard the party platforms on which they had been elected, and to refuse to let the voters pass upon the question.

The opponents of equal rights often abuse the Illinois Legislature for granting women presidential and muncipal suffrage on its own responsibility, without referring it to the voters. They even insinuate that the suffragists wanted to avoid a popular vote. For twenty years the Illinois suffragists had been urging the submission of a constitutional amendment, and the antis had been opposing submission, and begging the Legislature to decide the question adversely by its own act. As a rule, opponents do not even hint a doubt of the Legislature's moral right to decide the matter on its own responsibility until the Legislature begins to show leanings toward suffrage.

They are just as ready to deny the people's right to decide, when the popular vote is favorable. When Wyoming came in as a State, after twenty years' experience of woman suffrage as a Territory, its people, men and women, elected a constitutional convention which drew up a constitution for the new State, and included woman suffrage in it by an almost unanimous vote. This constitution was submitted to the voters of Wyoming, men and women, and was approved by a large majority. It was then submitted to Congress for ratification. The opponents of suffrage in Congress first tried to have Congress strike out the woman suffrage clause bodily—preferring as usual, the shortest cut. Failing in this, they then tried to have the suffrage clause submitted again to the voters of Wyoming, not with the constitution as a whole, but separately. And how submitted? To a vote of the women alone, to make quite sure that a majority of the women really wanted it? By no means, but to a vote of the men alone, the women to be allowed no say in the matter. And this precious proposal came very near carrying Congress. There was not one word of protest against it from Dr. Lyman Abbott, who is now so insistent that the women ought to be allowed to vote on the question, nor from any of the statesmen who are at present declaring that each part of the country ought to decide the matter for itself.

To sum up—the people who are bent on blocking equal suffrage always seek the shortest and easiest way to their end. With what consistency can they blame the suffragists for doing the same?

A. S. B.

When an elector's mind is made up, there is less difficulty in expressing it through the ballot box than in matching a ribbon; and the one act is not considered more unfeminine than the other.—Lady Holder, wife of the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia.

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"Now," said Mrs. Catt, "what have women done to win their liberty?" Taking New York State alone, where women had worked no harder, made no more sacrifices than in many other States, in proportion to the population, she declared that 10,300 meetings had been held in the last six months; that 7,500,000 leaflets had been printed, 3½ per voter, using twenty tons of paper; there had been 720 separate treasuries, with every bookkeeper except two a volunteer; that women had contributed more than $100,000; and that on election day 6,300 women had watched at the polls from six o'clock in the morning until after the vote had been counted; that 2,500 campaign officers had served, every one without pay; and that a series of most unique publicity features had culminated in a parade of 20,000 women in New York City alone.

Too Humiliating a Task

The result of all this effort, as nearly as was known, had been that about 535,000 votes had been cast for the amendment, or 2,000 more than the total vote for suffrage in the nine States where the amendment had won on a popular vote. In Rochester all the men in the almshouse and rescue home, two of them over 90, had been voted against the amendment; in many polling places throughout the entire day not a single man who voted but had had to be assisted. The paupers and the illiterates had generally voted against suffrage. Even with these handicaps, she believed a referendum could be won, but she declared that it had been sufficiently shown that women wanted the vote. The federal way was hard enough, but not so difficult.

Women had campaigned in 24 different languages in New York.

Though a great many of the foreign-born were favorable, certain classes had voted almost solidly against the amendment. "We claim it is too humiliating a task to put upon us," said Mrs. Catt. "We believe we should have the easier method." It was 25 years ago, she said, that she had come before this committee, and ever since then she had been working steadily for suffrage. "No man in this country or any other has given up 25 years of his life to the cause of his enfranchisement," she declared.

Need Ballot For Citizenship

Mrs. Harriet Thompson of Illinois spoke for the working women, and for the teachers. "How can a woman teach citizenship who has not herself the rights of a citizen?" she asked. Mrs. George Bass of Chicago, in speaking for women voters, said:

"We want you to give the ballot to women, not because we believe they will be good citizens, but to assure you that they are good citizens of this country, and they need the ballot in order to express their citizenship to its fullest degree.

"They have done and are doing in every State civic service of inestimable value, but they have done it by slow, toilsome and painful processes. They have had to come for help, not to you nor to such as you, gentlemen of the committee, but to the ward politician and the political boss, to whom they were as nothing because they had no votes.

"They are tired of this method, their dignity as women and their self-respect as citizens revolts from its use. They are doing their full share of the world's work. Give them, then, the necessary weapon which alone can make their work effective. Give it to them because it is simple justice, or give it to them because of a higher selfishness which makes you realize that you need this unused citizenship about you even more than they need the ballot."

Suffrage a National Question

Mrs. Antoinette Funk thanked the committee for its kindness to the Congressional Committee of the National Association. Dr. Shaw closed the hearing by answering the objection that this is not a national question. "That might be true," said Dr. Shaw, "if nothing entered into women's lives of national interest. The women of the United States are affected by the laws of Congress, as are the men." Could there be a year that showed this more forcibly, she asked, than the present one? There was no question that would agitate Congress more than that of preparedness; but when we look across the sea we find no question more essential to the women of foreign countries than that of war or peace. There is not a woman in this country who does not look at her paper each morning to see whether we are nearer the brink. If these things extend to Congress, is it not a question of as vital importance to the women of this country whether we are at war or at peace, as it is to the men? This is equally true of the tariff, of prohibition and of the other great and important issues before Congress. "Constitutionally and ethically," said Dr. Shaw, "women should have something to say."

Copies of the hearing before the Senate committee will be published and will be awaited as a very valuable suffrage document.

UNION PRESENTS CASE FOR ACTION

Women in Washington Appear Before Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage

Representatives of the Congressional Union appeared before the Senate committee on woman suffrage the day following the hearing of the National Suffrage Association, and urged speedy and favorable action on the federal amendment.

Miss Julia Hurlburt of New Jersey told of the difficulties of State campaigns. Mrs. Roach of Louisiana spoke from a Southern woman's point of view. Mrs. Agnes Jenks showed the difficulty of amending many State constitutions. Senator Clapp was paid a warm tribute by Mrs. Alden H. Potter of Minnesota, who said that only one amendment had ever carried in her State because of the constitution's difficult amending clause.

"I might have walked from Boston to Washington," said Mrs. Glendower Evans, "but I took a Pullman car. We will campaign in the States till the end of our lives, if we have to, but we want the short cut—a federal amendment."

"We women who are free in California are pariahs when we cross the Mississippi," said Mrs. Frances Joliffe, who with Mrs. Sara Bard Field spoke as women voters.

"A great movement is growing among the women voters, the end of which cannot be foreseen," said Mrs. Field.

Others who spoke were Mrs. R. H. Ashbaugh of Michigan, Mrs. Cyrus Mead and Mrs. James Rector of Ohio, Mrs. Annie Porritt and Mrs. William Spencer Murray of Connecticut and Mrs. Dana Durand of Minnesota.

Miss Anne Martin of Nevada introduced the speakers, and Senator Sutherland of Utah presided as chairman in the absence of Senator Thomas of Colorado.

The National Woman's Peace Party Convention will be held in Washington January 8-10.

The Peace Party also announces at this time plans for a great Carnegie Hall mass meeting in New York City to be held on the evening of Jan. 5 in conjunction with the Labor Forum. Miss Helen Keller will be the chief speaker.

We men require women's suffrage as much for our own sake as for women's sake.—Israel Zangwill.

WOULD CARRY ON HUSBAND'S PLANS

California Wife Will Be Candidate for His Unexpired Term in State Legislature

Mrs. Florence A. Scott of Selma, Cal., widow of the late L. D. Scott, Assemblyman from the Fiftieth District, will be a candidate for the unexpired term in the lower House of the California Legislature which her husband would have served had he lived, in case another session is called. Mrs. Scott is a Republican.

"If elected, I shall carry out the policies of my husband along Republican lines," said Mrs. Scott.

Confidence in victory for Mrs. Scott was expressed by A. A. Selden, Selma member of the Fresno County Republican Central Committee.

"I saw W. C. Ralston, chairman of the State Republican Committee, and he favored the candidacy of Mrs. Scott," said Selden, according to the Sacramento Bee. "Many others have come out in favor of her candidacy."

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont has brought out the libretto for a suffrage opera. Miss Elsie Maxwell has written the music. The opera, which is called "Melinda and Her Sisters," is a satire on society and will be presented on Feb. 18 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The receipts will be used to further equal suffrage.

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Suffrage Exchange

I AM AN EDUCATED MAN and know suffrage. Am a good writer. My employer will remove me if I write for suffrage, so I want to change occupation. Will some suffragist buy, improve and stock a small farm and sell to me at liberal advance and 8 per cent. interest, nothing down and seven years' time? Then I can and will work, write and speak for suffrage. Will give a good business trade. Address "U," care Woman's Journal. (2)

WORKING WOMEN National Woman's Trade Union League stands for self-government in the workshop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given. LIFE AND LABOR working women's magazine 10c a copy. Mrs. Raymond Robins, President. Headquarters 180 W. Washington St., Chicago. (eow)

HELP US to dispose of our 1000 Suffrage Cook Books. $1.00 per copy. $1.10 prepaid, mailed to any point. Every recipe guaranteed. Equal Fr nchise Federation, 3046 Jenkins Arcade, Pittsburg, Pa (tf)

SITUATIONS.

THOUSANDS MEN AND WOMEN WANTED. U. S. Government Jobs. $75.00 month. Rapid advance to $150 month. Vacations. No layoffs. Short hours. Common education sufficient. "Pull" unnecessary. Write immediately for free list of positions now obtainable. Franklin Institute, Dep't F124, Rochester, N. Y. (2)

CANADIAN WOMEN START CAMPAIGN

Desire Extension of Municipal Vote to Married Women and Parliamentary Vote to All

A petition asking for the enfranchisement of Manitoba women and signed by 39,534 women of the province, was presented to Premier Norris at Winnipeg, Man., Dec. 23, by a deputation from the political equality league. The premier assured the women that the bill providing for equal suffrage had been prepared and added that the government hoped for its early passage at the coming session of the Legislature.

Premier Norris and his supporters were pledged to give the women of Manitoba the vote when it was demanded by a petition signed by 15 per cent. as many women as there were votes cast at the last provincial election. The women of Manitoba had little difficulty in getting many more signatures than the 15 per cent.

Mrs. Nellie L. McClung of Edmonton, Alberta, writes the Woman's Journal that full franchise is expected for the women of Alberta and Manitoba at the February session of the Provincial Legislatures. This will mean Dominion as well as Provincial franchise.

Mrs. Eliza B. Hettle of Fairfax, Manitoba, writes: "I am sure that 95 per cent. of our rural women signed the petition for 'Votes for Women'."

There are nearly 10,000 highly educated women in England who have registered for war work under the Federation of University Women. Among the new positions open to educated women that have been supplied by the federation are the post of draftsman in an aeroplane factory, of expert accountant in an insurance office and supervisorships in munition factories.

WOMEN LAWYERS TO DEFEND GIRLS

Chicago Public Defenders' League Formed for Special Court and Woman Judge

Thirty women lawyers of Chicago have formed the Public Defenders' League for Girls, it was announced last week, for the purpose of preventing any girl from being sent to jail for a first offence, subsequently to become the prey of professional bondsmen.

Members of the league will ask Chief Justice Olson of the municipal court to create a special girls' court and appoint a woman as judge. The women attorneys have agreed to give one day a month free of charge to the proposed special court, defending young women offenders.

PARDONED WOMAN BEFRIENDS GIRLS

New Morals Court in Chicago Shows Good Results in Short Time

The splendid reforms which the new morals court in Chicago is working have received new confirmation. A little more than three years ago Grace Bennett was one of the best gowned women in Chicago's then notorious levee district. Then came the crusade which wiped out that section. Miss Bennett, like hundreds of her kind, was driven to the streets. One day she was arrested and taken before the new morals court. Judge Uhlir gave her a chance.

Last week, according to a press dispatch, she was before the morals court again to plead for a fallen girl. Judge Uhlir recognized the woman he paroled three years ago. After her parole, a prominent South side social leader took her into his home. He made her one of his family, on trial. Grace made good, and today is doing reform work of her own.

THE SUFFRAGE STRENGTH

Since the United States Senate acted on the nation-wide suffrage amendment, nearly two million votes in eleven States have been cast for the enfranchisement of women. Besides this, in the suffrage States there is a solid popular vote of four and one-half millions for president of the United States. The combined suffrage strength, as shown in only twenty-one of the forty-eight States of the Union, is more than six and one-half millions, or 200,000 more votes than President Wilson received at the last presidential election throughout the country.

Vote for suffrage in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New Jersey	1,225,621
Official vote for suffrage in seven States acting on question in 1914 (Montana, Nevada, Ohio, Missouri, Nebraska, North and South Dakota)	740,163
Popular vote in nine suffrage States (California, Washington, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Oregon, Colorado, Arizona and Kansas)	2,574,359
Popular vote in Illinois, based on presidential election of 1912, combined with estimate that the same percentage of women will vote as at the last election in Chicago	1,971,452
Total popular strength of suffrage in twenty-one States	6,511,595
Popular vote of President Wilson in 1912 in forty-eight States	6,293,019

When the demand for equal suffrage on the part of voters rises to such a height throughout the country, it must be considered a national question of paramount importance. It is time for Congress to act.

JUDGE DECIDES WIFE MUST OBEY

Believes It Right of Every Man to Say if Wife May Dance

In Oklahoma a man has a perfect right to forbid his wife's dancing, and she must obey or take the consequences. Those were the rulings of Judge E. D. Oldfield in denying Mrs. Cecil Donovan's petition for divorce from Charles Donovan.

Mrs. Donovan said she and her husband were at a social gathering one evening and he told her not to dance. When she glided away regardless, he grabbed her arm and jerked it roughly, she told the court.

"It appears," said the judge, "that the real cause of all the trouble between this husband and wife was her desire to dance, notwithstanding his pronounced dislike for that sort of recreation. I'm going to deny this decree because I believe it is the right of every man to say whether or not his wife shall dance. If a husband tells a wife she must not attend dances, she must abide by his wishes."

RULES COMMITTEE HAS LAST WORD

Special Action Needed for Consideration of Suffrage Amendment if Judiciary Reports

Pressure is being brought to obtain a special rule from the House rules committee for the early consideration of the nation-wide suffrage amendment. Although the resolution has not yet been before the committee having jurisdiction over it, suffragists are taking no chances and are already working for a rule to make them privileged.

Chairman Robert L. Henry of the House rules committee said last week that both legislators and outsiders interested in woman suffrage and prohibition have demanded a special rule to force prompt consideration of these issues when Congress reconvenes in January.

Mr. Henry said it was uncertain what his committee would do. Chairman Henry is said to be opposed personally to woman suffrage as a national issue. He believes the question should be settled by the States, but there is a prospect that Mr. Henry and his committee colleagues will not care to assume the responsibility of denying a vote in the House.

Without a special rule there is likelihood that the suffrage resolution, if reported by the judiciary committee, may be placed on a crowded calendar and not be reached during the session.

A federal suffrage bill, S. 1539, to give women the right to vote for the national Senators and Congressmen was introduced in the Senate by Senator Lane of Oregon and one in the House, H. R. 6, by Representative Helvering of Kansas.

With only one dissenting vote, a resolution favoring a national constitutional amendment to grant suffrage to women was passed by the Maine State Grange at its 42d annual convention at Portland, Dec. 21.

ON A HEARING BEFORE A COMMITTEE

By Alice Duer Miller in the New York Tribune

(Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, at the suffrage hearing before the House Judiciary Committee, stated that there were no laws in South Carolina to limit women's hours whereupon Representative Whaley, of South Carolina, said that he did not believe it.)

What is the lady saying that distresses the gentleman so much?

She is telling him that there are no laws to protect the working hours of women in South Carolina.

What form does his distress take?

It takes the form of telling her that he does not believe what she says.

Is what she says untrue?

No, it is correct.

Perhaps the gentleman is not American and so should not be expected to know our laws?

No, the gentleman is an American.

Perhaps, then, he is an astronomer or a poet and does not concern himself with laws?

On the contrary, he is a lawmaker.

Probably, then, he comes from some distant State in which conditions are very different.

No, he is a Representative from South Carolina.

Surely he is not the representative of the women of South Carolina?

All the representative that they have.

LESLIE WILL IS STILL UNDECIDED

One Favorable Verdict Gained Not Sufficient for Suffrage Assurance

Surrogate Fowler last week refused to set aside the probate of the will of Mrs. Frank Leslie, in which she disposed of an estate of $1,748,550, more than $1,000,000 of which goes to the woman suffrage cause. The Surrogate emphatically denounced allegations that Mrs. Leslie's mother was a Louisiana negress slave.

Suffragists are not counting on the money left them by Mrs. Leslie to help them out in the campaign for the vote that they will take up again with vigor after the first of the year. While one suit for the money has been decided in their favor there is another pending, and if it is continued it will probably be some months before there is a final decision.

ILLINOIS LAWYER GIVES HIS OPINION

Attorney General Says Women Cannot Vote for Presidential Party Nominees

Attorney General P. J. Lucey of Illinois has rendered his opinion that women have no right to vote for delegates to presidential conventions. This opinion is at variance with the contention of attorneys for the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, who have insisted that in view of the express privilege accorded women of voting for presidential electors they also should be allowed to participate in the nomination of party candidates.

Secretary of State Lewis G. Stevenson, who is chief election officer in the State, and County Judge Thomas F. Scully, who is at the head of the election machinery in Chicago are not obliged to act in accordance with the attorney general's opinion.

LAST LAUGHS

"Sammy," asked the teacher, "what is a cameo?"

"Please, ma'am, it's an animal that wears a hump."—Youth's Companion.

First Shopper: "It's so hard to find just what you want!"

Second Shopper: "Yes, especially when you haven't the slightest idea what it is."—Boston Transcript.

During a recent examination of enlisted men in Uncle Sam's navy this question was asked: "Name the principal parts of a sentence." The answer was: "Solitary confinement, and bread and water."—Everybody's.

Jones (to Brown, who has been relating his wonderful adventures in Russia): "And I suppose you visited the great steppes of Russia?"

Brown: "I should rather think so. And walked up every blessed one of them on my hands and knees."—London Tit-Bits.

William Dean Howells once went into a department store in a New England village and said to the clerk at the book counter, "Please give me the letters of Charles Lamb."

"Post office right across the street, Mr. Lamb," said the clerk, with a brisk smile.—Illustrated Sunday Magazine.

This is a true story. Little Walter, whose father is a professor in a Middle West University, was scrutinizing his parents closely, and said: "Father, you have such heavy eyebrows, and mother has hardly any! What are eyebrows for?" The father replied, impromptu, "Why, eyebrows are—er—eyebrows—they are to keep the sweat from getting into people's eyes, when they work hard." "But, father," protested Walter, "I don't see how that can be, for mother's would need to be many times heavier than yours." And father was lost in thought.—Christian Register.

In a rural court the old squire had made a ruling so unfair that three young lawyers at once protested against such a miscarriage of justice. The squire immediately fined each of them $5 for contempt of court. There was silence, and then an older lawyer walked slowly to the front of the room and deposited a $10 bill with the clerk. He then addressed the judge as follows: "Your Honor, I wish to state that I have twice as much contempt for this court as any man in the room."—Youth's Companion.